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EDITED BY

FRANK K. SANDERS

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HENRY A. SHERMAN

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BY

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ASSISTANT PROFESSOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN THE OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

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PREFACE

The volumes of this series on life and religion aim to place in the hands of thoughtful men and women the answer to the questions which trouble many religiously minded people and hinder them from taking full satisfaction in religion as they find it. Their primary justification does not lie in the attempt to say something which has never been said before, but rather in the desire to clarify sincere thinking. They seek to lay a foundation on which an untechnically trained reader can have assurance that the things which he holds sacred are worthy of devotion.

Many people who listen to the verbal conflicts which are always raging in regard to the Bible and one's attitude toward it are deeply perplexed over the apparent situation. They are tempted in their impatience to conclude that there is no stability in religion, no solid or unshakable convictions, no sure conclusions.

This volume seeks to show that the historical approach in Bible study, which it strongly advocates and explains in detail, opens the way for reasonable harmony in religious belief. It enables all interpreters, whether they call themselves conservatives or liberals, to get onto common and fairly solid grounds. The greatest barrier to Christian unity among Biblical students is the spirit of dogmatism, whether cherished by the radical or by the conservative, whether honestly or in the spirit of controversy. This barrier the historical method of approach breaks down.

The writer of the volume, Professor Albert E. Avey, of the Ohio State University, is not a professed Biblical scholar. He is a scientific historian and approaches the subject quite as he would consider it in the recitation room. His method, in fact, will enable him to bring much relief to the minds of young students of the present generation. His candid, clear survey of the Scriptures and the evidence which he gives, on every page, of his own reverent point of view will enable many perplexed students of the Bible to lay hold of its study with fresh enthusiasm and with increased confidence. His picture of the Bible in its historical growth as a treasure house of glorious, tender, deep religious experience, a history of the gradual understanding of God, sets forth vividly yet accurately the convictions that remain to the one who studies that history aright. The writer's genius is at its best in the discussion of real data and in their restatement in classified form.

The editors hope that the volume will be found useful as a text-book for class work everywhere, as well as for individual reading. It deals with problems which never grow old or get out of date.

THE EDITORS.

September, 1924.

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PART ONE—PRELIMINARIES

I

THE PROBLEM OF HISTORICAL CRITICISM

Biblical interpretation at the present time is a controversial field, not only in the minor details of doctrine and interpretation, but in the primary fundamentals of general attitude, basic principles and methods. The discussion at times grows heated, and this, while somewhat unfortunate, has at least the virtue of bearing witness to the earnestness of the participants and to their conviction that the interpretation of the Bible, its right comprehension and estimation, are matters of prime importance in life. In this both sides, conservative and progressive, are right, indeed. And no judgment of either can be fair without sympathizing with the earnestness of both sides and granting that here we are dealing with one of the real issues of life.

There are many men of many minds, as the old saying declares. We see the manifestation of the multiplicity of minds in the multiplicity of denominations within the domain of a single religion. And even within the field of a single denomination we find now so many subdivisions and varieties of opinion that it is difficult to see clearly for what vital issues the denomination does stand. Repeatedly there is heard the cry, Back to fundamentals. Demands for new creedal interpretations are in evidence. A minister once posted a statement of various beliefs before his congregation

without indicating what denomination claimed the tenets indicated, with the request that the members of his church signify their convictions. When it came to a tabulation of the beliefs held, not only did the group, all of whose members claimed to be true representatives of the same denomination, differ markedly in their tenets, but a great many, if not most, held beliefs not officially acknowledged by the denomination whose name they bore. This would not be an uncommon experience.

There are several possible consequences which may result from such a multiplication of opinions. One is skepticism. The lazy-minded will adopt this attitude as the only true outcome of the perplexing situation. Some will assume a reactionary attitude and fall back upon their original views, holding them blindly and obstinately, refusing to budge. The intellectually timid will refuse to venture beyond what they have been taught to regard as officially sound. But such attitudes contribute nothing to the solution of the problems which have arisen, and do nothing for the honest seekers for solutions of their difficulties. Fortunately there is a group which demands a more careful and searching study of the whole field, for the purpose of finding some standards by which to judge the correctness or incorrectness of beliefs. The active-minded will adopt this attitude. The fact that problems have not yet been solved is to them no indication that there is, therefore, no solution. Many problems, practical and theoretical, have baffled men for centuries and ages; yet, sooner or later, light has dawned in some favored mind, and positive progress has been made toward a solution.

The last of these attitudes is the one adopted in this work. It may be granted that there is an important problem set by the great variety of opinion in the field of Biblical interpretation. Such differences are inevitable and even healthful, so long as they are based upon sound principles and reached by proper methods. The cure for the situation lies in the direction of a search for an objective method of study; one which will be valid for all students.

In certain recent conferences on the interpretation of fundamentals there has been an honest, straightforward declaration of convictions, both conservative and progressive. But there has been a noticeable lack of discussion of the methods and principles of Biblical interpretation with detailed illustration of typical applications. No real, lasting solution of the difficulties can be reached until all concerned agree upon, accept, and apply a set of common guiding principles of study. There will doubtless always be some difficulty in applying the principles agreed upon. Opinions regarding results will always differ. But no significant progress at all can be made without such principles, and with the fullest allowance for differences of application, they are of priceless value as aids in working toward generally acceptable results. Either party to a discussion makes its position more convincing by clearly setting forth the methods by which its results have been obtained.

The present study, then, is intended as a discussion of methods. It will set forth certain typical results as illustrations of the outcome of the use of the methods advocated. But the emphasis is to be placed primarily upon those methods which ought to be understood and

used, in the confidence that if they are adequate and satisfactory the results will be approvable. The important question then becomes: What method is thus objective and universally valid? Failure to discover this means failure in the whole undertaking, and the situation still remains as it has so often proved to be—one marked by honest confessions of faith on both sides, but still essentially dogmatic, radical dogmatism being set against conservative dogmatism, dogmatism being the vigorous assertion of one's convictions without discussion of the methods employed or the reasons relied upon to establish them. Even where the attitude of debaters has not been dogmatic, even where there has been a statement of the reasons for positions held, those reasons have in many instances not proved compelling, because their presuppositions have not been accepted on both sides of the discussion.

One can readily appreciate the position of conservative interpreters. Not without very considerable reasons do they take their stand. And, as said above, no one can do justice to an issue without seeing it from the conservative as well as from the progressive side. The conservative party is sensitive, first of all, to results which have been attained in the past. It does not believe that human beings, certainly at this stage of history, can begin anew, and without reference to the past make an independent investigation of the value of religion in general and of the Bible as an instrument of religion. It believes in keeping what has stood the test of time. It believes also in the pragmatic and empirical test: taste and see. This is what countless numbers have been doing for centuries with the Bible. Anyone who would state that it has not proved

itself a help, guide and comfort to real living beings, a source of wisdom, conviction, and power, would show himself lamentably ignorant of fact.

What does this mean? It means, says the conservative, that the interpretation of the Bible so long accepted has been tested by experience and has stood the test. Time winnows out the chaff in any field, and it has not winnowed out the Bible. Men have tasted and have seen that it is good. That which is best by test cannot be easily overthrown by any abstract argument. We may not understand the secret of its power. But that it has power, and that a sustaining one, is beyond dispute.

Conservative thinkers set great store by the conservation of values. They hold without compromise that the Bible as handed down to us by the great leaders of religious thought in the generations which have passed has proved itself a veritable mine of precious truth.

A further reason for the conservative position lies in the very nature of religious interest. It is concerned with *eternal* values. If the truths of the Bible are not eternal they will not minister to the religious interest. To talk about religion as transitory is for them an absurdity. It is a contradiction in terms. How can one assume a progressive attitude toward what is unchanging? As maintained by thinkers from time immemorial, the only way to alter a perfect being is in the direction of deterioration. The only effect the changing of eternal truth could have would be to destroy its very eternity. Has there ever been a time, will there ever come a time, when: Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy mind and soul and

strength, will be invalid? Has there ever been, will there ever come a time, when the guiding principle of life will be: Thou shalt not love the Lord thy God? Will the principle: Thou shalt not kill, ever be altered to: Thou shalt take as the universal guide to all thy life the practice of indiscriminate slaughter? Thou shalt kill everyone whom thou meetest, whoever he may be? Perhaps we have not fully appreciated the sweep of the simplicity of the commands. They are not qualified. They do not name conditions. They are universal principles. What could progress in such matters mean?

Another consideration lies in Zophar's question: Canst thou by searching find out God? (Job 11:7). Is there any human mind which by its acumen can discern absolute truth about life and about all things? Who is so audacious as to make the claim? Is not Paul right, and did he not express the very essence of human knowledge and human life when he said, We walk by faith, not by sight? (II Cor. 5:7). To assume that one can by his own thinking judge ultimate things is to assume omniscience. And who is so presumptuous? The human soul must ultimately rest upon authority. Knowledge of the will of God and of the plan and course of the universe must come from God, either directly or through specially chosen personalities who are more sensitive to his presence than the ordinary man is, and to whom, therefore, he reveals more than he can reveal to the ordinary man.

They add to these the consideration that unless there is some authoritative revelation of the will and plan of God, man has no guide to life. Without this he is left adrift, a microscopic atom in a sea of welter-

ing forces, physical and psychical, tossed hither and thither, knowing not which way to turn for light and direction.

The Bible, they say, itself claims to offer just such guidance. As we read in II Timothy 3:16, 17, "Every Scripture inspired of God is also profitable for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction which is in righteousness: that the man of God may be complete, furnished completely unto every good work." And Revelation 22:18,19, "I testify unto every man that heareth the words of the prophecy of this book, If any man shall add unto them, God shall add unto him the plagues which are written in this book: and if any man shall take away from the words of this book of the prophecy, God shall take away his part from the tree of life, and out of the holy city, which are written in this book." In John 14:6 Christ is represented as saying, "I am the way, and the truth, and the life: no one cometh unto the Father, but by me." If we reject the Bible as the guide of life we all instinctively repeat the words of Peter: "Lord, to whom shall we go? thou hast the words of eternal life." (John 6:68.)

Now if the Bible is not thus the Divine Word of God it is false, it does not live up to its own claim. How then explain its influence in the lives of men? If it is what it claims to be, how can it be revised, or pass away? Thus conservative thought contends.

The progressive group, on the other hand, finds a way to meet all of these contentions. It, too, is not ignorant of history. But what it sees in history is this: Over against those who have found the Bible a guide and stay in life there is the great mass of men who

have never accepted the Bible as a reliable guide in life. Read the text itself, and what you find is constant protest on the part of leaders and prophets against the unwillingness of the people to follow their direction. If Biblical religion had been popular, would Moses ever have cried, when wearied to death with the complaints of the people, "If thou deal thus with me, kill me, I pray thee, out of hand, if I have found favor in thy sight; and let me not see my wretchedness." (See Numbers 11: 4-15.) Or would Jeremiah have uttered the words: "How long shall the land mourn, and the herbs of the whole country wither? for the wickedness of them that dwell therein, the beasts are consumed, and the birds; because they said, He shall not see our latter end." (Jer. 12:4.) The contemporaries of the prophets did not accept their word as authoritative. The prophets did not succeed in making their case convincing.

It is indeed true that many persons have found comfort and sustaining strength in the Bible. But, says the historical student, it is because they have used a selective judgment in dealing with it. When in trouble they have opened its pages at random, and if the passage upon which their eye has first fallen did not fit their case or bring them spiritual aid they tried again and opened it to some other place. Keeping on long enough they were sure to find comforting thoughts, because the Bible is a treasury of spiritual experience. Or, knowing the stimulus of the vigorous words of some prophet—"Arise, shine; for thy light is come, and the glory of Jehovah is risen upon thee" (Is. 60:1); or "Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy, and eat."

(Is. 55:1.) Or the solace of the psalmist: "Why art thou cast down, O my soul? And why art thou disquieted within me? Hope thou in God; for I shall yet praise him, Who is the help of my countenance, and my God." (Ps. 42:11; 43:5.) Or the sympathetic reaction of Ecclesiastes, "Vanity of vanities, all is vanity" (1:2), or the consolation of Jesus, "Come unto me, all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest" (Mat. 11:28). Knowing the force of such passages they have left selection not to chance but to a thorough acquaintance as of tried and true old friends. But any frank and thorough student of the Scriptures realizes that a large portion of the book is not thus usable. Much of the Bible is merely descriptive or legalistic, or is otherwise unrelated to immediate personal need. There is no stimulus to personal faith or interpretation of things divine, at least not for ordinary minds, in the story of Judah and Tamar (Gen. 38) or in the details of the furnishing of the tabernacle (Ex. 26, ff.).

The real reason why there is no sustenance in much which the Bible contains is that it is the record of a long but wonderful historical growth of the Hebrew people out of conditions relatively primitive until they became able to teach the world a true conception of God and of things divine. In scientific conception there is much that is primitive, in ethical sense much that shows stages of uncompleted development. The philosophy of the hardening of Pharaoh's heart (Ex. 4:21; 7:3, 13; 9:12, 13, etc.) presents a puzzle to present-day thinking men. The moral standards of Samuel when he hewed Agag in pieces before Jehovah in Gilgal (I Sam. 15:33) out-prussianed the Prussians. The

only way for the non-historical reader to deal with such passages is to skip them. And that is what many do.

The prophets by common consent were the greatest factors in the process of education through which the Hebrew people had to pass. Assuming that they made their case convincing, each for his own age, the sincere and thoughtful reader discovers that the prophets of the period of Jeremiah declared to be the will of God certain outcomes which to Isaiah of the preceding century had seemed contrary to the divine will. Even then, divine truth had to be restated in some particulars by and for each generation. This fact has always remained true. Each age down to the present has required a reinterpretation of the great fundamental ideas regarding God and man and the universe and their relations in order that its peoples should come to them with reality, conviction and power. One of the great lessons of history is the transitoriness of human formulations or schemes of truth. Nations have lived to develop certain truths which in a sense live after them. But that which fed the religious life of the ancient Babylonians or Egyptians gave way to the religious culture of the Greeks; and that in turn fails to satisfy the human heart of the Christian world of today. Is it unreasonable to suppose that this process of the comprehension of truth is God-established and continuous? It should be assumed by all reverent students that while the Old Testament furnishes the most helpful record in the world of religious progress, a record abounding in suggestion for earnest souls, who are themselves on the upward road, there is much of its content which no longer fits into or feeds the experience or thinking of the modern servant of Jesus Christ.

Admitting that it is true that religion is concerned with eternal verity, the appreciation of such verity on the part of man is limited by his own capacities. It would be useless in any age for revelation to go beyond man's powers of comprehension. In so far as it does this it compels man to the use of mere words, unintelligible and uninterpretable. As man develops, his appreciations improve. But this again raises the problem of changing interpretations and the possible outgrowing of old beliefs. The one to whom the Bible comes with a message today must of necessity not only view the Old Testament in the light of the New Testament, but view the Bible as a whole as it squares with all truth.

As for the weakness of human intellect and its inability to cope with ultimate problems, one can only say, that, granting that human intelligence does not exhaust the meaning of the universe, intelligence is as much God-given and as fully intended for use as is intuition, faith, and the capacity for submission and obedience. The right to understand is necessary in order to save men from arbitrary verbalism, or servile submission.

It may be in some respects more uncomfortable to face the facts and to admit that one's religious convictions root themselves in a different basis than our knowledge of physical facts, but honesty demands that difficulties be not solved by ignoring them.

The quotations purporting to be authentication of the divine character of Scripture do not refer to the Bible in its present form, because it had not assumed its present form when the statements were made. Their use ignores the historical development of the Bible and the gradual formation of the canon. To lump all Biblical books together as contemporaneous in date

of composition is simply to reveal an utter ignorance of the historical origin of the Bible. It is largely to counteract this error that historical methods of study are introduced. So contends the progressive.

Thus arguments are brought forward on one side and on the other to justify the positions taken. What is needed is a common basis of study, some mode of approach which will be truly objective, acceptable to all, and which will afford an impartial key to the interpretation of The Book. There is need of a study of those methods which in other fields have been largely effective in eliminating controversy, methods which have made possible the evaluation of individual opinion and impression by some standard test, and have thereby made possible the organization of opinion into an objective body of conviction if not of absolute truth.

Other fields do not grant the adequacy of all minds to discuss problems. Science, mathematics, political history, demand training on the part of investigators. No one for a moment conceives it to be possible for the lay mind to enter an unfamiliar field and speak therein with authority. It is always held necessary first to become familiar with the technique of the subject. And often it takes long and laborious training to develop the skill and judgment necessary to warrant a hearing for one's statements. Should one expect less in the field of Biblical interpretation? Is it not one of the profoundest fields of human interest? Does it not demand acumen even beyond that called for in any other field? Must not one be both scientist and historian to become able to grasp its problems, much less to hope to contribute something to their solution?

But does this mean that the field should be turned

over to the specialist, in despair of the ability of the common man to make progress in comprehension? This is the conclusion of the Roman Catholic churchmen. But does it not rather mean that acknowledging the necessity for superiority of intellect and judgment, there is also a demand that the methods of the specialist be made so intelligible and convincing that even the average person may be brought to a better understanding of the specialist's studies? Shall it not be held that the great obligation of the specialist is not to dictate but to uplift, to raise the general level of rational comprehension and appreciation?

II

THE METHOD OF HISTORICAL CRITICISM

There are two fundamental types of interest which come into play in the study of the Bible. One is the didactic and practical. The other is the historical. The former seeks to discover lessons which may be learned from the Bible and which may be taught to mankind, especially to growing youth. These lessons are to be the guide posts to life. They look forward to real, vital consequences in practice. The second seeks to know the historical setting and atmosphere in which the experiences recorded occurred in the lives of men, to estimate with what degree of exactness one can determine just what was the nature of that experience and to know how far it was similar to human experience of today. It asks how far we can accept literally the assertions made, and just exactly what idea was intended to be conveyed by the writer. It appreciates thoroughly the fact that unless one understands the historic setting and catches the atmosphere and spirit of the time in which the writing was set down, one is easily led to read into the text meanings which did not constitute the ideas of the writers. Granting that the didactic method of use and application is thoroughly legitimate and has an indispensable place in Bible study, still the historical approach is even more indispensable, if one is to ascertain the true meaning of the Scriptures. The readiness with which people find in the prophecies ref-

erence to successive world crises leads thoughtful people to try to determine to what historic events these passages did refer. The book of Daniel has been reported as presaging every great crisis for centuries, not excluding the world war. The fact that interpretation in the light of the historic setting throws much light upon the real meaning of the text makes historical study important even for didactic purposes. Many Bible students interpret the text and their own religious conceptions in the light of their understanding of the experiences of long ago without having determined the true character of that ancient experience. If we are to read present religious experience in the light of the past, we must correctly construe the past. Only thus can we avoid the innumerable hypotheses as to the meaning of the text which are seized out of the blue, as it were, and used as the basis for all sorts of fantastic interpretations and theories. And even if we do not expect to make use of man's past religious experience, a fair and impartial appreciation of the past through Biblical as well as other sources demands that we treat them in a fair and competent manner.

The historical method in Bible study insists that first of all the Bible must be regarded as a collection of historical documents. Our problem as Bible students is primarily a historical problem. Our method must be the historical method, as applied in any other investigation of the events of the remote past through documents handed down to us. The method of study must, of course, be scholarly in as true a sense as study in any other field of human interest must be scholarly. We must, therefore, note the essentials of scholarly historical method.

First of all, scholarly method is impartial and unbiased. It has no special thesis to maintain. Its interest is simply in determining the truth. It aims so far as possible to free itself from preconceived notions. It has no initial convictions regarding literal inspiration or its negative. It advocates neither pre-millenialism, nor its opposite. This does not mean that it is not interested in such problems. It does wish to know whether the text is literally inspired or not. It does wish to determine whether pre- or post-millenialism is essential to Christian doctrine in its New Testament form. But it has no preconceived notions upon these or any other questions, interesting and important though they be.

The initial mental attitude of the scholar is that of questioning. He asks what are the data upon which we have to build and what are the conclusions which we may draw without reading more into our facts than is justified, without assuming more information than we actually have.

Those of us who have been taught respect for the Bible from our childhood up, find it difficult to appreciate what the Bible must be like to an oriental Hindu, or Moslem. Yet to them it presents the same appearance as do the Vedas and the Koran to us. The scholar must aim to begin with as great freedom from bias toward any particular estimate of the Bible as he has to any special estimate of the Koran or other sacred books. From this position of initial fairness he proceeds through careful study to a well-sifted conviction, a conviction which rests upon a diligent and detailed accumulation of evidence and reasons. Though realizing fully the proneness of the human intellect to error, he does what he can with it. In so far as he is unable to

solve all his problems, to answer all his questions, he simply leaves the unsolved problems as open questions, upon which he hopes to obtain more light in days to come.

To suspend judgment is very difficult. From the practical standpoint it is often impossible. We have to act and we must have some kind of faith, some conviction upon which to act. But from the scholarly standpoint one is never in a hurry. Problems do not need to be solved. They may be left unfinished. And when the data do not suffice for a solution, then problems must not be allowed to appear solved.

The historian approaches the field of Biblical history as he does that of secular history. To him the Bible is a mass of historical documents. He must examine them, weigh them, judge whether they are what they seem to claim to be or what others have claimed for them. He tries to determine their inner structure, the relation of their contents to each other and their places with reference to other history. The historian must carefully study and investigate his documents before he proceeds to construct a conception of history upon them. This is a point at which much of the Biblical study of the past has been especially weak. There has been little discrimination as to the value of various parts of the Biblical text. It has been tacitly assumed that all parts are of equal value, and that a passage from the Old Testament is as good as one from the New in its testimony to divine things. The scholarly student makes no such assumption. He is confident that if all parts of the text are equally important, this will become evident through careful investigation. He believes that the Bible can fully stand the test of reflection. He has

faith that if the Bible truly deserves the high place which has been assigned it in the judgment of its devotees it will vindicate its position and come out in the end even stronger than before. If it cannot stand a perfectly fair and honest examination, it is time that we were becoming aware of it. Remembering that conclusions must not be drawn hastily, the historical student yet holds that he must draw them fairly and fearlessly, in perfect willingness to have any error on his part revealed by others as sincere and impartial as he.

The first question, then, which the scholarly student must ask is, What is the character of the documents? This is to be answered in the light of external and internal evidence. By external evidence is meant the references made by other historical documents to their contents. Through external evidence it is possible to determine many facts regarding the history of the text, the construction of the books, their selection as part of the canonical list, and the view of events taken by other writers as compared with the Biblical statement. Such references from without are valuable in indicating the relative position in time of the documents in question with reference to the work which refers to it. Obviously the one which makes reference to the other is later in time. This alone does not fully establish the time of writing of a Biblical book or document, but the determination of the relative position, that is, which came first and which followed, is a step in the direction of determining definite dates of writing. References in the writings of the Jewish philosopher, Philo, and the historian Josephus, to the Old Testament show

that it was in existence in their time, but do not show how near they were to its time of composition.

In the second place, such references often give valuable suggestions as to the opinion concerning the documents in question held at the time when the reference was made. The importance given to writings varies from time to time, from age to age. A work which is not considered important by contemporary, or nearly contemporary, writers, sometimes acquires a greater importance in later generations. The constant study of it may lead men to see in it thoughts of greater significance than were discovered at first. Or change of conditions under which the work is read may give it an appeal which it did not originally possess. In such ways writings may take stronger hold upon the minds of succeeding generations, and so time will elevate them in the judgment of men. We cannot, therefore, judge the estimate of documents in earlier times by the estimate placed upon them later. But regardless of the estimate placed by earlier writers, any reference whatever to the documents in question indicates a knowledge of them, and so is an indication of their existence. Cross references thus are important in determining the relative chronological sequence.

Thus the lack of any reference throughout the later writings of the Old Testament, for example, in the great period of prophecy, to the account of the origin of sin as given in the second chapter of Genesis, may well be interpreted as meaning that this story did not occupy the attention of the thinkers of the Old Testament as it did the mind of Paul in New Testament times and has the minds of many interpreters of Scripture since.

The way in which the text has come to be what it is throws some light upon the character of the Bible. It is of interest to know whether the books were written at the dictation of an angel, as some of the medieval artists depicted them, or whether they were inspired in the minds of writers by the everyday experiences of life. Everything which throws light from without upon the history of any part of the Bible must be taken into account, weighed and used.

But even more important than external references to the documents is the condition of the text itself. The original Biblical text is, of course, nowhere in existence. There are many copies of the text of the Bible; not only recent editions but early manuscripts. The very earliest greatly postdate the books themselves. The first task of the textual student is to gather up all the copies he can find, and by comparing them determine so far as possible what are the oldest readings. Of course, the modern printed texts are based upon older ones. Only the very old ones are of primary importance. In the case of a work like the Bible there are old manuscripts to be found in many of the libraries and museums of the centers of learning in Europe. These must be inspected, their various readings noted and compared, and every effort made to determine which should be accepted as the earliest reading. By comparing the various manuscripts the historian is led to group them and reduce the number of important readings to a relatively few variants, each of which has been copied many times and so multiplied many fold. All manuscripts which have exactly the same readings are taken to be copies of a single original. If it is not possible to decide definitely which reading is superior

all variants must be noted side by side and the question regarded as an open one, upon which more light may be thrown with the discovery of more facts, possibly more manuscripts, in the future. Not only do sentences not read the same in every case when manuscripts have been copied in great numbers; but often whole paragraphs are omitted from some, while they occur in others. The reason for this must be sought if possible; it must be determined whether the passage was omitted through some accident in copying or was introduced into later copies by someone who thought it belonged there.

It must be borne in mind that ancient editors and copyists were not so careful and critical as such persons aim to be nowadays. Hence they may have had no scruples about omitting or inserting passages. Often copies were made by people who were working mechanically and were not interested in the content of what they copied, or if interested made mistakes in judgment. Omission of words, phrases, sentences, or even paragraphs was especially possible where two phrases or sentences began with or employed the same word. Upon looking up from the original for a moment, then looking back to it, the eye would fall upon the wrong point of occurrence of the word, and so a part of a sentence would be left out. Those of us who have copied our own compositions or submitted them to a secretary to be copied, know how easily such mistakes occur.

In making one's own personal copy of a document one often annotates the pages, writing comments upon the margin and jotting down explanatory notes. But if this copy is later used by a copyist it is not always clear whether such notes are a part of the true text or not.

They may be taken for omissions of a preceding copyist, and written into the body of the text. In such ways the readings come in the course of time to vary from copy to copy, and judgment must be exercised to determine which reading is the original.

But even if it is possible to determine which is the oldest reading extant the historian cannot be sure that the extant text is in its original form. If there was a great interval of time between the date at which the earliest version was formulated and the oldest extant copy was made, there may have been many vicissitudes through which the text passed in the meantime. The determination of the oldest reading of the manuscript does not always decide the question of the integrity of the text. Even though all manuscripts read alike they may all come from so late a date that a text really complex in origin has become long settled and fixed in form before the extant copies were made.

The fundamental test for the scholar at this point is consistency. If there are manifest incongruities of statement, even though found in all manuscripts, he will conclude that the statements must have come from different sources, or from the same source under different circumstances. At least he will seek some contributing cause for the disagreements. Or, though there be no direct contradictions of statement, if part of a statement (e. g., a paragraph, or chapter) reflects a mental level or intellectual background different from that reflected in another part of the statement, the historian takes this to be an indication of complexity of authorship; that is, he infers that more than one hand and mind have contributed to the production.

There is an old saying to the effect that *the style is*

the man. And this the historian holds fundamental and uses as a guide to his investigations. Personalities are *individual,* and where writing is perfectly honest and unrestrained there will be noticeable differences in mode of expression. One may deliberately parody another's literary style and mode of thought for a while. But sooner or later even the imitator will fail in his imitation, and give himself away.

Especially important to the historian is the language used. A document purporting to come from a certain time and location, but written in a language which was evidently never used in that location or not at the time in question, cannot be genuine in its claim. It cannot be more than a translation of a more original document. It may be less than this. That is, it may be a forgery, a work of historical fiction, or a purely rhetorical composition.

Even in the same language passing time and changing circumstance affect modes of expression. As in English there is a difference between the spelling, the meaning of words and the construction of sentences in the day of Chaucer and in the day of Shakespeare, and between the same in the day of Shakespeare and in our day, so in ancient languages there are noticeable changes of characteristic style and use of words. For such features the historian is on the constant lookout. They are often the most certain evidences he has of the date of production of his documents. A story dealing with very ancient events may be told in recent times. The interval between the time of occurrence and the time of composition has much significance, of course, for the reliability of the document's information. A contemporary document is in general more significant than

one several hundred years later than the event. The historian has to take care to distinguish the time of telling the story from the time at which the story is set. We shall see later how important this proves to be in the interpretation of certain books of the Bible.

Another important principle is this, that an unconscious, involuntary or indirect indication of date of writing and place of composition is more valuable than a direct and deliberate one. A direct statement of date and place may be a misrepresentation, intentional or unintentional, for the purpose of some effect desired by the writer. Even a deliberate misrepresentation may not be in the spirit of a lie. It may be the only way in which the writer sees possibility of gaining the recognition he wishes. Ancient peoples and especially peoples of the Orient, do not have the same interest in accuracy, scientific or historical, that Westerners do. They are concerned primarily with the effect produced, especially moral effects, and the important consideration is not how true but how effective is a belief. It may seem strange to some that one should say the Oriental is more interested in the outcome of a belief than Occidentals are. The point is that the Oriental is not characteristically an impartial scientific or historical observer. He is primarily interested in ethical and religious problems, and these concern themselves with right adjustment to the world.

Still another principle of historical method which may be mentioned is that of type of interpretation as indicating position in time. The interpretations placed upon a disease, for example, are not the same in all epochs. What was once explained as demonic possession is now often diagnosed as some form of nervous affec-

tion well known to physicians. So with regard to movements of history the view of a writer can often be given a chronological place through comparison with other writers. Similarity to a type of interpretation prevailing at a certain time would give a presumption of origination at that time.

It is true, of course, that no one phase of the historian's method is absolutely decisive in itself. The historian aims by means of all these considerations together to effect an accumulation of evidence which will be the most convincing possible.

In sum, the method of the historian is: to weigh carefully all evidence, external and internal, as to the complexity, date, and place of composition of the text, using as his fundamental standard the test of *coherence*. The way in which the documents fit in with other documents, sacred or secular, and part corresponds to part, gives the best evidence obtainable of the character of the document, and of its accuracy in depicting the event referred to. Ultimately, history as a whole is a collection of bits of evidence reaching down through time and making continuous the connection of the past with the present.

PART TWO—APPLICATIONS TO THE OLD TESTAMENT

III

THE WITNESS OF EXTERNAL HISTORY

Unfortunately the earliest external references to the canonical Scriptures are very scarce until a century or two after the beginning of the Christian era.

There are two kinds of references which are of interest: references to the books themselves, recognizing their existence, and estimating their value, and references to the same events as those spoken of in the Old Testament and to the same prevailing thoughts as referred to there. The latter are indirect commentaries upon the Old Testament. For we are interested in comparing the statements made by the various sources with each other to see how nearly they coincide, and to account for differences where these occur.

We may consider first the references to the Old Testament documents themselves.

The earliest reference of this sort we have is to be found in the book of "Ecclesiasticus," a work included among the Apocrypha, that is, the books accepted as sacred by the Greek and Roman Churches, but not by Protestants because they are not listed among the canonical books of the Hebrew Old Testament. It was written by a Jew, but in Greek. It is a product of that period of Hebrew history when all Asia had been overrun by the armies of Alexander the Great and the people brought under the influence of Greek civiliza-

tion. As a result of the conquests of Alexander the Greek language became the language of commerce and of the intellectual world. Many Jews came to use Greek more than Hebrew. Hebrew began to be an ancient language even to the Jews. There was a tendency, therefore, for the traditions of the Hebrew people to be lost in an unused language. And to prevent this the literature of the nation was translated from Hebrew into Greek. This made the thought of the ancient sources again available in the current language of the day.

In this work called Ecclesiasticus the writer is translating from Hebrew into Greek a collection of proverbs gathered by his grandfather, Jesus Ben Sirach. In his introductory statement he says: "Whereas many and great things have been delivered unto us by the law and the prophets, and by the others that have followed in their steps, for the which things we must give Israel the praise of instruction and wisdom; and since not only the readers must needs become skilful themselves, but also they that love learning must be able to profit them which are without, both by speaking and writing; my grandfather, Jesus, having much given himself to the reading of the law, and the prophets, and the other books of our fathers, and having gained great familiarity therein, was drawn on also himself to write somewhat pertaining to instruction and wisdom; in order that those who love learning, and are addicted to these things, might make progress much more by living according to the law. Ye are intreated, therefore, to read with favor and attention, and to pardon us, if in any parts of what we have labored to interpret, we may seem to fail in some of the phrases. For things origi-

nally spoken in Hebrew have not the same force in them when they are translated into another tongue: and not only these, but the law itself, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books, have no small difference, when they are spoken in their original language. For having come into Egypt in the eight and thirtieth year of Euergetes the king, and having continued there some time, I found a copy affording no small instruction. I thought it, therefore, most necessary for me to apply some diligence and travail to interpret this book; applying indeed much watchfulness and skill in that space of time to bring the book to an end, and set it forth for them also, who in the land of their sojourning are desirous to learn, fashioning their manners beforehand, so as to live according to the law." [1]

The reference to the thirty-eighth year of the ruler Euergetes leads scholars to believe that this grandson of Ben Sirach made his translation about 130 B. C. But the point of especial interest in the present study is the reference to those things which had been delivered to Israel by "the law and the prophets, and by others who have followed their steps," "the law, the prophets, and the other books of our fathers," "the law, itself, and the prophecies, and the rest of the books," and the two references to "the law" alone.

This passage, as we have said, is the earliest external reference we have to the ancient Hebrew literature. And we see that by the end of the second century before Christ, these books had become classified into three groups: the law, the prophets, and the other books. How this process of classification came about is not

[1]From the Apocrypha, Revised Version, 1894, Thomas Nelson and Sons.

suggested by anything in this passage. It seems to be a grouping well established and needing no explanation. Nor does he mention the names of the works which constitute the several groups. It is not even clear whether the writing of Ben Sirach is, in the opinion of the author, to be included in the third group or not. Ecclesiasticus contains sentiments well worth pondering. Its very opening words are words of significance: "All wisdom is from the Lord, and with him forever." So also are the closing: "Work your work betimes, and in his time he will give you your reward." And its place among the Apocrypha marks it as one of the works which while not ranked with the canonical books, were yet found useful and profitable for employment in the early church. It is still a part of the Bible of the Roman Catholics and of the Greek Churches. But it has not been so accepted by the Jews themselves, nor is it in the Protestant Bible.

This oldest external reference, then, gives us information about a threefold classification of the ancient works of Hebrew literature, and shows that this had become recognized by the end of the second century before Christ, but it does not tell us how the classification came about nor what books were included.

The next external reference which we have to collected Hebrew literature is found in the book of II Maccabees, another apocryphal work, which dates from the latter half of the first century before Christ. In the second chapter, beginning at the thirteenth verse, referring to some stories about Moses, Solomon and others, the author says: "And the same things were related both in the public archives and in the records that concern Nehemiah; and how he, founding a library, gath-

ered together the books about the kings, and prophets, and the books of David, and the letters of kings about sacred gifts. In like manner Judas also gathered together for us all those writings that had been scattered by reason of the war that befell, and they are still with us."

We are not certain just who the author of this statement is, but it seems to reflect a view that the literary records of the Jews were gathered together by Nehemiah, and again later by Judas. There is nothing to indicate this collection in our canonical book of Nehemiah. The nearest suggestion is that in the tenth chapter, verse twenty-nine, which says: "They clave to their brethren their nobles, and entered into a curse, and into an oath, to walk in God's law, which was given by Moses the servant of God, and to observe and do all the commandments of Jehovah our Lord, and his ordinances and his statutes." This is interpreted by many as a stage in the process of canonization of the law. But it does not speak of any such process of collecting the literature as that suggested in Ecclesiasticus and II Maccabees. Where this thought originated is unknown. The passage is of interest, however, as suggesting the view that from time to time the literature of the nation was gathered together, and that by this process what we now call the Old Testament came into existence.

The next reference we have is from another of the Apocrypha, II Esdras. In the fourteenth chapter, verse twenty-one and following, we read: "Thy law is burnt, therefore no man knoweth the things that are done of thee, or the works that shall be done. But if I have found favor with thee, send the Holy Spirit into me,

and I shall write all that hath been done in the world since the beginning, even the things that were written in thy law, that men may be able to find the path, and that they which would live in the latter days may live. And he answered me and said, Go thy way, gather the people together, and say unto them, that they seek thee not for forty days. But look thou prepare thee many tablets, and take with thee Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ethanus, and Asiel, these five, which are ready to write swiftly; and come hither, and I shall light a lamp of understanding in thine heart, which shall not be put out, till the things be ended which thou shalt write. And when thou hast done, some things shalt thou publish openly, and some things shalt thou deliver in secret to the wise: tomorrow this hour shalt thou begin to write.

Then went I forth, as he commanded me, and gathered all the people together, and said, . . . Let no man therefore come unto me now, nor seek after me these forty days. So I took the five men, as he commanded me, and we went forth into the field, and remained there. And it came to pass on the morrow that, lo, a voice called me, saying, Esdras, open they mouth, and drink that I give thee to drink. Then opened I my mouth, and, behold, there was reached unto me a full cup, which was full as it were with water, but the color of it was like fire. And I took it, and drank: and when I had drunk of it, my heart uttered understanding, and wisdom grew in my breast, for my spirit retained its memory: and my mouth was opened, and shut no more. The Most High gave understanding unto the five men, and they wrote by course the things that were told them in characters which they knew not, and they sat

forty days: now they wrote in the day-time, and at night they ate bread. As for me I spake in the day and by night I held not my tongue.

In forty days they wrote ninety-four books. And it came to pass when the forty days were fulfilled, that the Highest spoke, saying, The first that thou hast written publish openly, and let the worthy and unworthy read it: but keep the seventy last, that thou mayest deliver them to such as be wise among thy people: for in them is the spring of understanding, the fountain of wisdom, and the stream of knowledge. And I did so."

This statement comes from the end of the last century before Christ, and embodies the tradition which has been widely held among the Jews that the Old Testament was written in its present form by Ezra, the scribe, and had been destroyed at the capture of Jerusalem, but that in answer to this prayer of Ezra, and in the way here described, it was restored and preserved to men. The number "ninety-four" is the sum of "twenty-four," the number of the canonical books of the Old Testament as the Jews count them, and "seventy" the number of the apocryphal works. The former were for all to read, the latter only for the wise. (The twenty-four as the Jews counted them are: Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel, Kings, Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Isaiah, The Twelve (Prophets), Ruth, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song, Lamentations, Daniel, Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles.)

The Babylonian Talmud (Baba Bathra 14b), written about the fourth century A. D., after giving the order of the books, as listed above, continues: "And who wrote all the books? Moses wrote his book and a por-

tion of Bil'am (Numbers xxii), and Job. Jehoshua wrote his book and the last eight verses of the Pentateuch beginning: 'And Moses, the servant of the Lord, died,' Judges and Ruth. David wrote Psalms, with the assistance of ten elders, viz.: Adam the First, Malachizedek, Abraham, Moses, Hyman, Jeduthun, Asaph and the three sons of Korah. Jeremiah wrote his book, Kings, and Lamentations. King Hezekiah and his company wrote Isaiah, Proverbs, Songs, and Ecclesiastes. The men of the great assembly wrote Ezekiel, the Twelve Prophets, Daniel and the book of Esther. Ezra wrote his book, and Chronicles—the order of all generations down to himself. And who finished Ezra's book? Nehemiah ben Chachalyah."[1]

Such are some of the typical references to the Old Testament books as found in ancient Hebrew literature outside the Bible. They embody traditions which have in many quarters taken firm hold upon opinion. Whether correct or not they go back to the earliest indications of existence of the writings and their collection into a group especially revered.

Philo, the Jewish-Greek philosopher who lived in Alexandria, in Egypt, in the first century A. D., refers to the Hebrew Scriptures in his philosophical works, but it is impossible to determine just what books he considered as canonical. His statements, however, do indicate that the Old Testament writings in general were discussed by the learned world at that time outside of Palestine.

Josephus, the Jewish historian and general of the first century A. D., gives the number of books of the

[1]Babylonian Talmud, translated by M. L. Rodkinson, Vol. VII, p. 45.

Old Testament as twenty-two, ascribing five to Moses, thirteen to the prophets, the remaining four containing "hymns to God, and precepts for the conduct of human life." [1] The writings since the time of Artaxerxes, he says, are not allowed the same authority because the succession of prophets has not been exact since that time. And he adds that no one during many ages has been bold enough to add to or take anything from these, nor change them. His opinion is worth noting as indicating a possibly widespread view of his day.

The next class of references which we note are those in the New Testament. Examination shows that the Old Testament books are frequently referred to or directly quoted in the New. Typical illustrations are: Matthew 19:4, 5, "And he said, have ye not read, that he who made them from the beginning made them male and female, and said, For this cause shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave to his wife; and the two shall become one flesh?" This is a reference to and quotation of Genesis 1:27, "male and female created he them," and Genesis 2:24, "Therefore shall a man leave his father and mother, and shall cleave unto his wife: and they shall be one flesh." Matthew 22:32, "I am the God of Abraham, and the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob," quotes Exodus 3:6; Matthew 19:19 quotes Leviticus 19:18, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself," etc.

A concordance will show the following references of Matthew to other books in the Old Testament: Matthew 12:5—Numbers 28:9, 10; Matthew 4:4—Deuteronomy 8:3; Matthew 12:3, 4—I Samuel 21:6; Matthew 1:5—Ruth 4:17; Matthew 4:6—Psalm 91:11, 12; Mat-

[1] Against Apion, I, 8.

thew 1:23—Isaiah 7:14; Matthew 2:18—Jeremiah 31:15; Matthew 24:15—Daniel 11:31; Matthew 2:15—Hosea 11:1; Matthew 12:39, 40—Jonah 1:17; Matthew 2:6—Micah 5:2; Mathew 21:5—Zechariah 9:9; Matthew 11:10—Malachi 3:1.

Similarly the book of Mark quotes or refers to Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Deuteronomy, I Samuel, Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Micah, Zechariah, Malachi. And if we carry out the same process throughout the New Testament we shall find all the books of the Old Testament quoted or referred to in the New except Ezra, Esther, Ecclesiastes, and Song of Songs.

Thus it is evident that the Old Testament writings were well known to the early Christian writers at the time when the New Testament was taking form.

The next group of witnesses to consider are the references in secular documents to the same events as those recorded in the Old Testament.

The Old Testament begins with an account of the creation of the earth. Other nations beside the Jews had their accounts of the origin of things. The Greeks have their stories, the Egyptians have theirs, the Chinese theirs. But of especial interest to us now are the Babylonian accounts, contained in the clay tablets found by archæologists in their excavations on the sites of the old Babylonian cities. These are of especial interest to us because of the relation of the Hebrew people to the Babylonian. Both were Semitic, that is, said to be descended from Shem, one of the sons of Noah. And when we recall that according to Genesis 11:28, 31 Abraham was from Ur of the Chaldees we

understand the close connection between Babylonian and Hebrew civilization.

According to one Babylonian account all things were originally water. The Great Deep (Apsu), and Chaos, (Tiamat) first existed. Then the gods were created (by Apsu). But they became too orderly for Apsu; so he appealed to Mummu (Confusion) and Tiamat (Chaos) to help him destroy them. But Ea, the leader of the gods of order, perceived their plot. And under his leadership Apsu and Mummu were destroyed. Kingu, another deity of chaos, appeals to Tiamat to wreak vengeance. She creates many fierce monsters and sets Kingu over them. Then they challenge the gods of order. The gods of order appeal to Marduk to take up the conflict against Tiamat. He agrees to do so if in case he is victorious he may become supreme over the gods. They agree to this and Marduk makes ready. He meets Tiamat in personal combat and slays her. He then splits her body in two halves, "as one does a flat fish," and one-half he makes into a covering for heaven. He establishes Heaven over against the great deep, and assigns all the gods their places of abode. "The stars, their images, he fixed as the constellations of the Zodiac; he determined the year and marked its divisions." "The Moon-god he caused to shine forth and he entrusted to him the night." Then he said, "My blood will I take and bone will I form; I will make man, I will create man who shall inherit the earth. Let the service of the gods be established; let their shrines be built."[1] Marduk, who is thus described as the supreme god, was for a long time the patron god of Babylon.

[1] Kent, *Beginnings of Hebrew History,* pp. 360, ff.

Many ancient nations thought of the golden age as having existed in the distant past when the gods ruled the earth and men were happy. Babylonians, Egyptians, East Indians, Greeks, Romans, Persians, and Chinese have such suggestions in their literature. Early poets of Persia tell of a paradise wooded with trees and watered by streams, where man first lived, but from which he was tempted away by a demon in the form of a serpent. In a story contained in a collection of clay tablets found at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt a fisherman named Adapa was upon one occasion summoned before the gods, and while there was offered food and water of life, and when he declined to eat of them he forfeited immortality. In the Babylonian epic of which Gilgamesh is the hero, Gilgamesh wishes to capture a primitive man, Eabani. He sends a hunter, but the latter is afraid of the man. He then sends him with a woman, and the latter entices him from his kind of life. In all these stories there are noticeable certain similarities to the early chapters of Genesis.

In another part of the Gilgamesh epic there is a story of the flood. According to the story Gilgamesh is searching for immortality and finally comes to the abode of Parnapishtim, who lives in a distant happy land and who has attained immortality because of the way in which he obeyed the command of the gods when they were angry with men and had determined to destroy them, built an ark, loaded upon it all his possessions, silver, gold, living creatures of all kinds, family and domestic animals. Then came a "destructive rain." Parnapishtim entered the ship and closed the door. Mankind without was destroyed. For six days and nights the storm continued. Then the ship

was caught fast on Mt. Nisir. When the seventh day arrived he sent forth a dove, but it came back; then a swallow, but it came back; then a raven, which did not return. Upon disembarking the hero offered a sacrifice on the highest peak of the mountain. The gods smelled it and resolved never to send such a flood again. Bel gave Parnaphistim his blessing, and conferred upon him and his wife immortality.

These parallel stories are of interest to the historian as indicating a similarity of interest among early races, and possibly as pointing to common experiences of the ancestors of all races. The question has often been discussed whether there really was a universal flood at some time in the distant past out of which all flood stories grew, or whether the experience of suffering a disastrous flood is something which came upon early men at different times in different regions of the earth, though local in each instance. From such experiences men may have felt that they were being visited by the displeasure of the Supreme Power and so have formulated stories expressing this conviction.

One might, of course, assume that one version of the story, e. g., the Old Testament, is correct and all others incorrect so far as they deviate from it. But such a position is not assumed by the scholar. He leaves such a conviction as the possible outcome of his study, not its presupposition.

The question of the origin and method of transmission of these very early stories of the world and of man will be considered later on. Let us pass on now to the consideration of documents which deal with events much later in the course of Hebrew history. Some very fine and valuable work has been done in the way of col-

lecting material which bears upon Old Testament history. Many records have been discovered in Babylonia, Egypt, Palestine, which reflect the sort of conditions of life presupposed by the Old Testament accounts. Still others refer to the very occurrences recorded in the Old Testament. We shall mention a few typical instances of such non-Biblical documents.

Among those which indicate conditions such as reflected in Genesis some of the most interesting are the clay tablets from the region of Babylonia in which a form of the name of Abraham occurs. There seems to be no reference to the Biblical Abraham. But the indications are that the name Abraham was in frequent use in that ancient time. Sometimes it is spelled "Abarama," sometimes "Abamrama," but these are clearly variants of "Abraham."

In a collection of letters found at Tel-el-Amarna in Egypt, and dating from the 14th century B. C., there are two written to an official with a Semitic name "Dudu," that is, "David," showing that Jews attained to such positions of influence as Joseph is represented as having attained. An inscription describes anxiety of the king on account of famine in the land. On a pillar erected by King Merneptah, in the 13th century, is a reference to Israel as being among those subject to him. This is of especial interest since it is the only instance yet discovered of a reference to Israel outside of the Bible at that age. Mention may also be made of The Code of Laws of Hammurapi (thought to be the Amraphel of Genesis 14), which resembles in spirit the laws of the Pentateuch.

Most interesting of all, however, are references to the very same events mentioned in the Old Testament

books dealing with later history. In I Kings 14:25, 26, Shishak of Egypt is said to have invaded Judah and despoiled the temple. On the wall of the great temple of Karnak in Egypt is a carving representing Shishak overcoming his foes; and in the list of cities mentioned as overrun is Jerusalem.

In II Kings 3:4-27 we have an account of a rebellion on the part of Mesha, king of Moab, which had been subject to the rule of Israel. In 1868 there was discovered at Dibon in Moab a stone with an inscription on it referring from the point of view of Mesha to a rebellion against Israel in which he claims to have been successful in regaining a number of cities. The account in II Kings tells of the putting down of the rebellion. The event seems to be the same but seen from different points of view and minimizing on each side the aspects that were unfavorable to the writer.

In II Kings 15:19 we read that Pul, the king of Assyria, came against Israel and Menahem paid tribute to him to keep him from overrunning the land. This is also recorded in the inscriptions of Tiglath-Pileser III, on the walls of his palace, near Nineveh. II Kings 15:29 bears witness to the invasion of Tiglath-Pileser during the reign of Pekah in Israel, which is also mentioned on the same inscription.

II Kings 17:3, 4, speaks of the invasion of Shalmaneser in the reign of Hoshea, and of his imprisoning the latter when he rebelled. This was just at the end of Shalmaneser's reign. The actual capture of Samaria and deportation of the leaders of the people occurred in the first year of the reign of Sargon, and is so recorded in his annals.

The invasion of Judah by Sennacherib, described in

II Kings 18, 19 and Isaiah 36, 37, is narrated in the records of this ruler.

A record of a different kind but of great interest is found in the "Siloam Inscription" found in 1880 on a tablet in the rock at the entrance of the Pool of Siloam. It tells how workmen tunnelling through the rock from opposite sides heard one another and finally met. This is believed to be the conduit referred to in II Kings 20:20 and II Chronicles 32:30, made by Hezekiah.

Many other details of the history of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia during the times mentioned in II Kings and II Chronicles are preserved in records from these countries.

Thus we find that the records of ancient literature throw light upon the Old Testament through references to the way in which it came into existence, and through stories similar to the earlier ones of the Pentateuch, while the events of the later historical books are specifically recorded in many instances.

However, we also find that there is a difference of interpretation, and emphasis is placed upon different phases of the same epoch, reflecting the different points of view of the writers. This is illustrated by the Mesha inscription; also by the references to Cyrus the Great, King of Persia. To the Jew he seemed an especial instrument of God, even a worshipper of Jehovah, according to Ezra 1:2, 3. But the Persian records represent him as a worshipper of the gods of Babylonia.

Where records differ in this way all indications which point to the truth of one or another have to be collected and estimated. Either one may be right and the other wrong, both may be partly right and partly wrong, or both may be wrong. In doing this the his-

torian asks which recorder was in better position to know the facts, near to them in time and place, and most unbiased in interest. It is not always possible to decide. But this is the historian's problem, and these the fundamental features of his method.

IV

THE OLD TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS: THEIR NUMBER AND CONDITION

We have seen that the events referred to in the Bible are largely attested by secular literature, and that a collection of sacred books of Hebrew literature is referred to during the second century B. C., although the earliest reference to this collection does not give the titles of the books included in it. We have now to consider the nature of the Old Testament as indicated in the manuscripts and versions.

The earliest copies of the Old Testament are manuscripts, that is, copies made by hand by the scribes of early centuries. Scattered throughout the libraries of Europe, northern Africa and the near East there are hundreds, even thousands of manuscripts and printed copies of the Hebrew Old Testament. Some of these are complete, containing all the Old Testament, some contain only parts. In 1776-1780 an Englishman named Kennicott published at Oxford a collection of readings of 694 manuscripts. In 1784-88 and 1798 an Italian professor, de Rossi, published the readings of 732 manuscripts. Of these eighty were duplicates of Kennicott's list. The two together collected readings of 1346 different Hebrew manuscripts. And these are not all there are in existence. There are thousands of Hebrew manuscripts of parts or the whole

of the Old Testament, though those containing it entire are few. The Bodleian Library at Oxford University, England, contains over 2500 such manuscripts of various sizes and degrees of completeness. The British Museum in London has about 1200. In Paris the National Library contains over 1300. The Imperial Library at St. Petersburg has nearly 900, among which are some of the oldest and most valuable. At Parma, Italy, there are over 1600; in the Jewish Theological Seminary in New York about 750. Besides these there are a number of important private collections in England, Germany, Italy, and elsewhere, some of them possessing thousands of manuscripts.

Some of the most important of these manuscripts are: (1) the so-called Codex Ben Asher, at Aleppo, in Asiatic Turkey, supposed by some to have been written in the tenth century A. D. (2) A manuscript of the Firkowitzsch collection, brought from Crimea to St. Petersburg, containing the whole of the Old Testament and said to date from the beginning of the eleventh century. (3) Codex Laudianus, at Oxford, from which a large part of Genesis is missing, dating from the tenth century. Of the manuscripts of parts of the Old Testament in Hebrew the most important are the following: (1) One in the British Museum (Oriental No. 4445), written in characters of an early type, and hence supposed to be not later than the ninth century A. D. It contains the Pentateuch, but is imperfect at the end. (2) The St. Petersburg manuscript of the Prophets, dated 916 A. D. It contains Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and the twelve "minor prophets." (3) One of de Rossi's manuscripts, numbered by him 634, containing the Pentateuch, dated 1227 A. D. and written in Old He-

brew characters of a sort found in the Moabite Stone (Mesha's inscription) and the Siloam inscription. The style of letters is thus older than that in common use in Hebrew texts; but the earliest copy of this manuscript, which we possess, is not so old as some of the copies of the commonly used text. Hence its value is not so great as might at first appear. (5) Among the fragments of other manuscripts of especial interest is the collection of fragments of the Hexapla of Origen. These date from the eighth and tenth centuries, and represent copies of a work of Origen, one of the early church fathers of the second century A. D. He constructed the Hexapla by placing in six columns, the Hebrew text of the Old Testament, a transliteration of the Hebrew into Greek letters, then four different translations into Greek. From this six-fold structure comes the word Hexapla. (6) The very earliest fragment of the Hebrew text extant is said to be a page of papyrus containing Ex. 20: 1-17; now in the British Museum.

Since 1488, when the first complete Old Testament was printed at Soncino, the Hebrew text has been reproduced in many editions. But these later editions are simply copies of the earlier texts.

This is the material with which the historian has to work in trying to trace the Hebrew text of the Old Testament as far back as possible into the past. The number of complete manuscripts is very few and they are relatively not very old. They do not go even approximately to the times when the events of the Old Testament occurred. One may well ask what sort of history the text had in those intervening centuries be-

tween the first writing and the present extant manuscripts.

But using such material as is available, the next step the historian takes is to compare the manuscripts and see whether they all read word for word alike. This is done in order to establish a standard text.

In the case of the Hebrew manuscripts, the variations are not great. This is due to the fact that the Jews followed the practice of destroying manuscripts after they became old and worn. The erasure of parts of letters would make a great difference in some cases in the meaning of the text. So in order to avoid this they had new copies constantly made and the old ones destroyed. The uniformity of the present Hebrew manuscripts is taken as an indication that all copies came from one original standard text. This standard text was formulated by Jewish scholars in the course of the sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries A. D. That is, by discussion and study a standard text was gradually settled upon. This is called the Massoretic text, from "Massorah," meaning "tradition." One of the chief features of this study of the text was the introduction into the manuscript of points indicating vowels. Before 600 A. D. only consonants were written. By 900 A. D. there was a well-developed system of vowel points. Obviously there might be differences of pronunciation and interpretation where only consonants were written. The correct interpretation was supposed to be given by the Talmud, a commentary on the Old Testament, formulated and written between the second and sixth centuries A. D. The vowel points represented this interpretation.

The utmost care was prescribed in copying syna-

gogue rolls. And in order to keep the text correct the number of verses, words and letters was counted, the middle word and letter of each book, etc., and the new manuscripts were checked up by such means. It is not astonishing that the text is now so fixed. In some passages the Hebrew has become so corrupt that it is impossible to make out its meaning. Still these meaningless letters are copied, with notes at the side of the page to suggest possible meanings. Numbers 16:37, 38 is a passage in which the text is confused. Judges 5:8 and 5:11 are hopelessly corrupt. Judges 5:14a and 13:19; I Sam. 1:1; 2:29, 33; 3:13, etc., are unintelligible.

There are incomplete sentences in places. Thus in Gen. 4:8 the text reads: "Then Cain said, And it came to pass, etc." Judg. 14:15 has the meaningless phrase, "Is it not?" added at the end. In I Sam. 13:1 the text reads: "Saul was years old when he began to reign." The word "forty" is supplied by the translators.

In such cases the translator turns to early translations into other languages such as the Greek, Syriac and Latin. Where these agree in their readings he feels fairly confident that they give the original meaning. One ground for this confidence is the fact that some of the manuscripts of these translations into other languages are older than any Hebrew manuscript. Thus there are translations into Greek in manuscripts dating from the fourth century A. D. This makes the Greek translation about six hundred years older than the oldest complete Hebrew manuscript. One such manuscript is the Codex Vaticanus (marked "B" in catalogues of manuscripts) in the Vatican Library at Rome.

Another, the Codex Alexandrinus ("A"), in the British Museum dates from the first half of the fifth century.

The various manuscripts of the Greek translations, especially the Septuagint, are compared for the purpose of determining the standard text of this translation. It can then be used in interpreting the meaning of the Hebrew text where it is obscure or has become corrupt. The Greek language is in general better understood than the Hebrew. The translation from which our present Septuagint manuscripts are copied was made during the third and second centuries B. C. And to one who knows Greek the Septuagint is a great help in determining the meaning of the Hebrew.

Another set of important early manuscripts are those giving a translation into Syriac, the language of the country north and northeast of Palestine at the beginning of the Christian era. The translators seem to have used both the Hebrew and Septuagint versions. The extant manuscripts in Syriac date from the fifth century and later.

There is also a collection of translations into Latin. The earliest were made from the Septuagint and are of value in establishing the texts of the Septuagint. But at the close of the fourth century Jerome made a translation from the Hebrew Old Testament. This became the standard "Vulgate" of the Roman Church.

All these versions were considered in making the translation which constitutes the text of the American Revised Version of 1901, the text most widely recognized in America now as the latest and best.

Upon comparing the texts of the Hebrew with the Greek, Syriac, Latin, etc., it is found that they do not always agree. The question is then presented to the

historian as to which is the original reading. It is not self-evident that the Hebrew is the correct one, for different Hebrew manuscripts themselves do not always agree perfectly. And in the course of time it is possible for the text to have become corrupt. We noted above that the Hebrew text became fixed during the seventh and eighth centuries A. D. Before this time it was possible for omissions to have occurred, for mistakes in copying, and for notes written on the side of the page to have been later copied into the body of the text by one who did not understand that they were merely comments. Furthermore, the earliest translations into Greek and Syriac were made before the Hebrew text had become stereotyped in its present form and hence they may represent an earlier text that through some vicissitude of history later became changed. The original Septuagint translation into Greek was made during the third and second centuries B. C. for the Jews in Alexandria who used Greek as the language of daily discourse. It was said to have been made by a committee of seventy (in Latin *Septuaginta*) men and named from this. The Syriac translation is believed to have been made about the middle of the second century A. D. This also was before the Hebrew text became fixed. In many instances, therefore, where the Hebrew text is unintelligible or does not make clear sense, the Septuagint and Syriac readings are regarded as the better, especially where these agree with each other.

Examples of the use of the translations may be seen in the following: In Genesis 6:3, where the American Revision reads, "Jehovah said, My spirit shall not strive with man forever," a note at the foot of the page says: Or, *rule in*. According to the Septuagint, Vulgate,

and Syriac, or *abide in*. The Hebrew verb used here does not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament. The meaning of the passage as a whole is difficult to determine. But the translations offer these suggestions as to the real meaning. Again in Genesis 47:21 the American Revision following the Hebrew reads, "As for the people, he removed them to the cities," and a note says: According to the Septuagint and Vulgate, *he made bondmen of them*. The Samaritan also agrees with this, and it fits better into the course of the story. Hence some translators hold it to be the true reading. The American Revision assumes a conservative attitude and keeps to the Hebrew reading in the body of the text, though noting the variant reading in the notes.

In Exodus 14:25 the Hebrew reads, "and he took off their chariot wheels"; the Septuagint and Syriac read, "he bound their chariot wheels." Leviticus 10:6 in the Hebrew has: "Let not the hair of your heads go loose"; the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac have, "Uncover not your heads." Joshua 9:4 in Hebrew reads: "and they made as if they had been ambassadors"; the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac, "they took provisions." In Ps. 22:16 the American Revision follows the Septuagint, Vulgate, and Syriac, which read: "They pierced my hands and my feet"; instead of the Hebrew, which reads: "Like a lion, my hands and my feet." In Jeremiah 11:15 the American Revision notes that the text of the Hebrew is obscure and gives a different reading from the Septuagint. The Hebrew text does not ascribe Lamentations to Jeremiah; this is from the Septuagint. Variations of the Septuagint from the Hebrew are noted in Ezekiel 40:44 and 42:4. Jeremiah 44:11, 12 is much more concise in the Greek

than in the Hebrew text, the latter being very repetitious. Some scholars regard the briefer text as the better.[1] In I Samuel 1 the Septuagint has many variations from the Hebrew text. These are typical instances in which the translators of the American Revision have found it necessary to note the variations in different versions.

We see thus that the investigator must compare the readings of the earliest translations with the Hebrew text as it now stands, and that he often reaches the decision that the translation is based upon an earlier and better reading than the Hebrew we now possess. In this way he ventures to improve the reading of the present Massoretic text. This is not improper, for we feel sure present scholars are more exact in their methods than earlier ones were. We have learned much in the course of time about handling such problems and the material available for careful study is more extensive now than ever in the past.

Another feature of the ancient texts is this: they do not all include the same books. The Samaritan Bible has only the Pentateuch. The Septuagint includes, besides the books of the Hebrew list (with which the American Revision is identical) books called Esdras, Wisdom of Solomon, Ecclesiasticus, Judith, Tobit, Baruch, Epistle of Jeremiah, Susanna, The Song of the Three Children, Bel and the Dragon, I, II, III Maccabees, and in some manuscripts IV Maccabees. These are called apocryphal books, that is "hidden." Some Syriac Versions omit Chronicles as well as these Apocrypha. Some omit Esther; some combine Esther,

[1]See Kent *Israel's Historical and Biographical Narratives*, p. 333.

Judith, Ruth and Susanna in "The Book of the Women"; one important manuscript contains also The Apocalypse of Baruch, 4 Esdras, and 4 and 5 Maccabees. In the Vulgate Ezra and Nehemiah are called I, II Esdras, and are followed by Tobit, Judith, additions to Esther (prefixed inserted and added), Wisdom of Solomon, Wisdom of Jesus Ben Sirach, Baruch and Epistle of Jeremiah, Story of Susanna (prefixed to Daniel); Song of the Three Holy Children (inserted in Daniel), Bel and the Dragon (appended to Daniel), and I, II Maccabees (after Malachi). The order of the books is not the same in all manuscripts. The lists given here are in the order most frequently occurring.

None of the lists from the Greek, Syriac, Latin or English follow the order of the Hebrew Bible. This groups the books into three divisions: The Law, including Genesis through Deuteronomy; the Prophets (the former) including Joshua through II Kings, omitting Ruth; (The Later) including Isaiah through Malachi, omitting Lamentations and Daniel; the Writings (or Sacred Writings) including the rest of the books of the English Bible beside those whose positions have been indicated (*i. e.*, including Ruth, Lamentations, Daniel, etc.) Nor is the order of the books in the third division the same in all the Hebrew manuscripts.

These lists may be readily compared if we place them side by side (See pages 58, 59).

In counting the books the Jews number: five in the Law; four in the former prophets, counting Samuel and Kings each as one; four in the Later Prophets, counting the twelve as one; eleven in the Writings counting Ezra-Nehemiah as one and Chronicles as one; making a total of twenty-four.

Hebrew	*Greek*	*Latin (Vulgate)*	*English*
In the Beginning (=Genesis)	Genesis	Genesis	Genesis
These are the Names (=Exodus)	Exodus	Exodus	Exodus
And He Called (=Leviticus)	Leviticus	Leviticus	Leviticus
In the Wilderness (=Numbers)	Numbers	Numbers	Numbers
These are the Words (=Deuteronomy)	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy	Deuteronomy
Joshua	Jesus Naue (=Joshua)	Joshua	Joshua
Judges	Judges	Judges	Judges
Ruth	Ruth	Ruth	Ruth
I, II Samuel	I, II Kings (=I, II Samuel)	I, II Kings	I, II Samuel
I, II Kings	III, IV Kings (=I, II Kings)	III, IV Kings	I, II Kings
Isaiah	I, II Paralipomenon (=I, II Chronicles)	I, II Paralipomenon	I, II Chronicles
	I Esdras	I Esdras	Ezra
	II Esdras (=Ezra)	II Esdras (=Nehemiah)	
Jeremiah	Nehemiah	Tobias	Nehemiah
Ezekiel	Tobit	Judith	Esther
Hosea	Judith	Esther	Job
Joel	Esther	Job	Psalms
Amos	Job	Psalms	Proverbs
Obadiah	Psalms	Proverbs	Ecclesiastes
Jonah	Proverbs of Solomon	Ecclesiastes	Song of Songs

Hebrew	*Greek*	*Latin (Vulgate)*	*English*
Micah	Ecclesiastes	Song of Songs	Isaiah
Nahum	Song	Wisdom	Jeremiah
Habakkuk	Wisdom of Solomon	Ecclesiasticus (=Wisdom of Sirach)	Lamentations
Zephaniah	Wisdom of Sirach	Isaiah	Ezekiel
Haggai	Hosea	Jeremiah	Daniel
Zechariah	Amos	Lamentations and Prayer of Jeremiah	Hosea
Malachi	Micah	Baruch	Joel
Psalms	Joel	Ezekiel	Amos
Proverbs	Obadiah	Daniel	Obadiah
Job	Jonah	Hosea	Jonah
Song	Nahum	Joel	Micah
Ruth	Habakkuk	Amos	Nahum
Lamentations	Zephaniah	Obadiah	Habakkuk
Qoheleth (=Ecclesiastes)	Haggai	Jonah	Zephaniah
Esther	Zechariah	Micah	Haggai
Daniel	Malachi	Nahum	Zechariah
Ezra	Isaiah	Habakkuk	Malachi
Nehemiah	Jeremiah	Zephaniah	
I, II Chronicles	Baruch	Haggai	
	Lamentations of Jeremiah	Zechariah	
	Letter of Jeremiah	Malachi	
	Ezekiel	I, II Maccabees	
	Daniel (Including Susanna Prayer of Azariah Hymn of the Three Children Bel and the Dragon)	Apocrypha: Prayer of Manasseh	
	I, II, III Maccabees	III Esdras (=I Esdras of the Greek)	
		IV Esdras	

The earliest Hebrew manuscripts do not divide Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles into two books each. Nor do they divide the books into chapters and verses as we now have them, though there were recognized sections. Even the earliest English versions, those of the sixteenth century, do not number chapters and verses, though it was in this century that these were introduced. The divisions in our present versions do not correspond exactly to those used in the present Hebrew Bibles. These variations are noted in some places in our recent English texts; as in Neh. 9:38; Is. 9:1, 2, Jer. 9:1, 2, etc.

Thus we see that the text of the Old Testament as we have it is the result of much collecting and comparing of manuscripts, taking into account the time and circumstances under which they were written in an effort to find the nearest approach to the original reading. We are not to think of the texts as fixed with absolute certainty, nor as capable always of interpretation with absolute confidence. We still hope to discover, through the excavations of the archeologists or the investigations of the historians in libraries not hitherto open to Western culture, earlier manuscripts and documents which will lead us to revise and improve our text still further. This ideal text is still a goal, not an achievement.

V

REFERENCES TO HISTORY AND PHILOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In this chapter we wish to consider the references in the Old Testament to events and locations in history, in so far as these throw light upon the question of date and place of the writing of the books.

The first one to which attention may be called is Genesis 36:31, which reads: "These are the kings that reigned in the land of Edom, before there reigned any king over the children of Israel." This verse occurs in a chapter composed of lists of names, a genealogical table of the descendants of Esau. It is a chapter of little or no interest to the ordinary reader of Genesis and is usually skipped or very hastily read. Consequently the verse above mentioned is usually not noted. But it is a very interesting, important, and to the historian illuminating verse. Its interest lies in the fact that it takes for granted that the kingdom of Israel has been in existence before it was written. It has been contended by some (notably W. H. Green) [1] that this is forecasting the rulers which Edom will have had by the time of Israel's kingdom. But this is forcing the interpretation into a preconceived theory. The language is plainly not that of forecast. If the historian were to distort simple meanings in this way throughout

[1] *The Unity of the Book of Genesis,* Scribners, 1910.

his investigations, he could make any expression mean anything, and chaos would be the result. No scholarship, no science, no history would be possible.

The reason for Green's position is his determination to regard Moses as the author of Genesis and in its entirety. If this seems difficult to hold in the light of this passage in question the historian feels that he must be unbiased enough to accept a different interpretation. It is true that the superscription of the book in the English version calls it the First Book of Moses. But this is not its title in the Hebrew Bible; there its name is "In the Beginning." True, the Jewish Talmud ascribes it all to Moses. But this is a late tradition of about 500 A. D., and the Jewish commentators were not exact scholars in historical investigation.

Of course it does not follow that the entire Book of Genesis originated as late as the Kingdom. But at least this verse must have been written thus late. And if we make distinction in the authorship of different verses we open up the question of complexity of text structure, which must, of course, be considered.

In Genesis 12:6 we read: "And the Canaanite was then in the land," which would be meaningless unless by the time of writing the Canaanite had been driven out and was no more in the land.

In Genesis 50:10 the expression "which is beyond Jordan" indicates that the writer was on the opposite side of the River from the place of burial of Abraham. If that is to the west of the river the writer was to the east. This would be consistent with the position of Moses in his last years; but it would also be consistent with the position of one who was writing in Babylon. The passage does, however, illustrate the hints which

the historian finds of the place of abode of the writer in general if not in detail.

Deuteronomy 34 describes the death of Moses and hence can hardly have been written by him. This, like Genesis 36:31 has been said to be a forecast. But as in that case the language is not that of forecast, and no one would have said it was except for the desire to maintain a special preconceived thesis. Such a desire, however, is in direct violation of that scholarly spirit which begins without bias, with complete impartiality, and works to the convictions on the basis of evidence. The assertion at the end of the verse: "but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day," reflects the point of view of a much later writer.

In fact the very first verse of Deuteronomy, which reads: "These are the words which Moses spake unto all Israel beyond the Jordan in the wilderness," indicates that the writer was on the west side of Jordan, where Moses never was; hence the writer must have lived at least as late as the conquest. This also throws light on the question of authorship of Deuteronomy, and of its place of composition.

Joshua contains a number of similar passages: 4:9 says of the memorial stones which Joshua set up to commemorate the crossing of the river: "they are there unto this day,"—some considerable time later, it implies. A similar phrase occurs in Joshua 5:9, and 7:26; also 8:29; again in 13:13, 14:14 and 15:63.

Judges 1:21, 26 have the same expression; as have 6:24, 10:4, and 15:19. It is shown by 17:6 and 18:1 that this time was after the establishment of the kingdom—for they say: "In those days there was no king in Israel." And 18:30 is a verse coming even from as

late as the captivity. It says that Jonathan the son of Gershom and his descendants "were priests to the tribe of the Danites until the day of the captivity of the land." This, once more, is not forecast but history. 19:1 and 21:25 also state that in those days there was no king in Israel, again presupposing the existence of the kingdom at the time of writing.

The book of Ruth begins, "It came to pass in the days when the judges judged"—implying that those days have passed away. The account is not contemporary. In like spirit 4:7 explains that "this was the custom in former time in Israel concerning redeeming and exchanging, to confirm all things: a man drew off his shoe, and gave it to his neighbor," an explanation due to the fact that the custom mentioned in the story was no longer practiced. And as 4:22 carries the genealogy of the descendants of Ruth down to David, this verse is at least as late as the time of the Kingdom.

I Samuel 5:5 has the phrase of Joshua and Judges: "unto this day," which appears again in 6:18. 7:13, "The hand of Jehovah was against the Philistines all the days of Samuel," is a summary by one who wrote after Samuel's work was done. Verse 15 of the same chapter reflects the same point of view. 9:9 "beforetime" and 14:18 "at that time" are unmistakable references to a time previous to that of the writer. 27:6 and 30:25 again have the phrase "unto this day," which appears also in II Samuel 4:3 and 6:8.

I Kings 8:8; 9:13, 21; 10:12; and 12:19 repeat the phrase "unto this day."

II Kings 2:22, 8:22, 10:27, 14:7, 16:6, 17:34-41 show the same phrase. II Kings 17:23 and 25:27-30 indicate clearly that the point of view of the writer was

as late as the exile. The former verse reads: "So Israel was carried away out of their own land to Assyria unto this day." The latter passage tells of the partial release of Jehoiachin by Evil-Merodach of Babylon, who, according to Babylonian records began to rule about 561 B. C.

I Chronicles 3:19-24 makes no explicit reference to events in history nor to a specific date. But we are able to infer the approximate time of writing of the book from the passage. For in it the genealogy is carried down through seven generations after Zerubabel; and since Zerubabel is associated with the return from exile in 520 B. C., and since seven generations would be at least two hundred years, the genealogies must date from 300 B. C. This is another of those interesting passages which are usually skipped over lightly, but which contain some important information.

I Chronicles 4:41 and 5:26 repeat the phrase "unto this day," and the latter speaks explicitly of the captivity as having occurred some time before.

The twenty-third Psalm is commonly ascribed to David. In fact the superscription so ascribes it. But a question is suggested by the last verse: "I shall dwell in the house of Jehovah forever." The house of Jehovah apparently means the temple. Before the temple was built no center of worship in which one could speak of dwelling existed. And the temple was not in existence during the life of David.

Psalm 126 refers to the captivity, hence must have been written later than the time of David. So Psalm 137 expresses the sorrows of exiles in Babylon. It is thus evident that not all the psalms were written by

David. These facts must be borne in mind in discussing the authorship of the Book of Psalms.

The question at once is presented to us how far we can trust the accuracy of the superscriptions and the dates specifically assigned to the text. The doubt cast above upon the authenticity of the ascription of certain psalms to David leads us to ask whether any of the ascriptions are accurate. Of course the fact that one superscription is not trustworthy does not make all of them untrustworthy. The question is: which are trustworthy and which are not. One thing is clearly indicated by superscriptions, and specific dates: they show the earliest possible date of the writer who assigned the date! But human beings are prone to error. They often make mistakes in assigning dates or authors. But they will never assign them to persons who have not yet lived by their time. It may be that through some misinterpretation or possibly by some mistake in copying, a very early writing may come to be associated with the name of a person who lived some time later. A late writing may become associated with too early a name. Or a writing may become associated with the name of a contemporary, who is not the real writer. It is often very difficult to determine whether one of these possibilities has occurred or not. But where the historical presuppositions unconsciously involved in the writings are clearly inconsistent with the author specifically assigned, this author is clearly not the true one. This seems to be the case in Psalm 23:6. In all such cases the unconscious indications of time and place are more reliable guides than the conscious and deliberate ones. It is among the latter that mistakes occur.

The dating of the writings of the prophets is often possible through comparison of the conditions with which the prophet is concerned with conditions which ancient records in general suggest as having occurred at a certain time. The prophets were concerned first of all with moral and religious conditions of their own times, and with the consequences thereof. They were occupied with pressing problems, not with forecast. Forecast was of interest only as showing the threatening consequences or because it offered a solution of a present problem.

Take, for example, the first chapter of Isaiah. Verse seven says: "Your country is desolate; your cities are burned with fire; your land, strangers devour it in your presence, and it is desolate, as overthrown by strangers." This was evidently written when the land was being overrun by an enemy. The problem of the historian is to fit this situation into a setting with which it is most completely in harmony. The times to which Isaiah's writings are referred by the book itself place his work during the years when the Assyrian armies were beginning to invade Palestine. Hence the above-mentioned passage is believed to refer to one of these inroads. The exact year is more difficult to determine because more than one would fit the description. But the date of Isaiah's work and writings is in general reliably determined. Chapter 20:1 gives an instance of a specific date, apparently entirely trustworthy.

Chapters 13 and 14 refer to the fall of Babylon. This raises the question whether they are not from a later writer than Isaiah, and inserted in the book in the process of compilation. Some would maintain that Isaiah is here looking off into the future and fore-

seeing the fall of Babylon. The difficulty with this interpretation is that it makes Isaiah forecast a specific historic event a hundred years before it happens. Most of the prophet's work is concerned with immediately pressing problems. At the time when Isaiah lived Babylonia had not yet become the dominant power in world affairs. It presented no problems. Hence to turn from the immediate question of Assyrian dominance to the discussion of the overthrow of a power not yet in existence would be practically meaningless to Isaiah's age. Some would maintain that Isaiah did this in order to show, through the fulfilment of his forecast, that his message was really from Jehovah. But in this case the proof would come a half century and more too late to be effective. The generation to whom he was making an urgent appeal would long before have passed away. It may fairly be said that books which show indications of knowledge of events of so widely different dates are complex in structure, really coming partly from one writer, partly from another.

A similar situation is found in the book of Jeremiah, and may be taken as indicating a similar complexity of authorship. Chapter 6:22, for example, referred to a threatening invasion from the north by a cruel, fierce nation. But 30:11 refers to deliverance from an already existing exile.

Ezekiel, however, is different. The dates and conditions reflected consistently imply the same time and setting, namely Babylonia just about the time of the final captivity of Jerusalem in 586 B. C.

In the shorter books where references to history are fewer it is more difficult in many cases to determine the date of composition. It is impossible to determine

with any degree of accuracy the dates of Joel and Obadiah, for example.

Another type of connection with historical backgrounds should be mentioned. This is philological; that is, the character of the language used. This consideration can be carried out in detail only by one who is familiar with the original languages of Old Testament times. It is found that the types of expression used in certain books, for example, Chronicles and Ezra, which we know to be late, and Samuel, which we know to be earlier, are noticeably different. Other works which have similarities in vocabulary and style to Chronicles are then very probably from a late period of the language. Hebrew changed in the course of time just as English has changed between the day of Chaucer and the present.

One very striking instance of the significance of this study of language is the book of Daniel. There is no better indication of the period from which the book comes than the words used for musical instruments. In chapter 3:5 we find the words *harp, psaltery* and *dulcimer* among other instruments mentioned. Now the words in the Hebrew here are Greek words spelled as nearly as they could be in Hebrew letters. This could not have occurred until Alexander the Great extended his power over the Asiatic regions and led to the spread of Greek thought and language. The same words appear again in Daniel 3:7, 10, 15. Daniel, in the form in which we now have it, therefore must date from the Greek period, not from the Babylonian. There are also Persian words in the book; and the Hebrew language did not absorb Persian words until after Persia had become a world empire. But this also was later than the

Babylonian period. It seems quite certain then that the Book of Daniel is not a contemporary record of the Babylonian period.

In some parts of the Old Testament the Aramaic language is used. Thus in Daniel and Ezra. This is a branch of the Semitic family of languages, closely related to Hebrew, but sufficiently different in grammatical structure to be clearly noticeable. It was the common language of Syria and after the return from the captivity was increasingly used by the Jews. The occurrence of Aramaic passages and expressions is an indication of late composition. Where such expressions appear they indicate either that the work as a whole was written after the captivity or that earlier material was re-edited by later writers. Where much of the book in question has a Hebrew style and vocabulary akin to that of Samuel and Kings along with Aramaic expressions, this is a quite reliable indication that earlier material has been worked over by a later writer.

It is evident from the facts pointed out in this chapter that the historical student must bear in mind the importance of references to history found in the documents, especially those which are unconscious and undeliberate. The impression we get of the meaning of documents on the basis of such references is often very different from what tradition (e. g. the Jewish Talmud) gives us. Traditional interpretation has too often regarded all documents as contemporary with the events referred to. What from this point of view is regarded as objective record becomes from the other subjective reflection upon and interpretation of history. The value placed upon such books as Genesis, Chronicles, Daniel, etc., varies greatly with the method by which they

are approached. We see also the importance of indications regarding date and place of composition as indicated by the language used. This last sort of evidence requires a knowledge of the related languages of the part of the world with which Biblical literature is concerned. Here, of course, the layman must depend upon the work of the scholar of special training. But though the layman must take his information at second hand he may yet make some acquaintance with the considerations which have proved decisive in historical interpretation.

VI

THOUGHT CONTENT AND TEXT STRUCTURE

He who reads the Old Testament carefully and tries to fit detail into detail so as to have a complete and exact conception of the movement of events finds this difficult. He reads the first chapter of Genesis and follows the development step by step from chaos to order, the creation of man, and the establishment of the Sabbath. But then as he reads on into the second chapter he finds the account of human creation told over again. In 1:27 it states that God created man in his own image; "male and female created he them." But then in chapter 2, the man seems to be alone; 2:18 says: "Jehovah God said, It is not good that the man should be alone; I will make him a help meet for him." Then were formed the beasts of the field; but none was a fit helper to man. Hence woman was created. But according to 1:24, 25 the animals were created before men. It seems, therefore, that there is a break in the story; chapters one and two do not fit well into one connected whole. They tell the story of creation twice; and in ways which do not entirely agree.

Again, it has been noted that the literary styles differ, that of the first chapter is more formal and repetitious than that of the second. The style of the second is informal and the style of flowing narrative. In the first the deity is spoken of as God, whereas in the sec-

ond the phrase used is Jehovah God. In 1:2 the Spirit of God moves upon the face of the waters, while in 3:8 (which continues the style of chapter two) God walks in the Garden in the cool of the day.

In 3:17 and 21 the man is spoken of as Adam. In 5:2 Adam is referred to both man and woman; "Male and female created he them and blessed them, and called their name Adam."

4:16-24 traces a genealogy down to Lamech. Then chapter 5 begins anew and traces it from Adam down to Noah. Moreover, though the lists are approximately the same, they are not absolutely so.

6:5-8 and 9-13 really express the same thought twice in slightly different form, namely, that God saw the corruptness of man upon the earth. So also 6:18-22 and 7:1-5 direct that Noah should save himself and family, with representatives of living animals, by entering into an ark.

In the story of the flood according to 7:2, of clean beasts seven were to be taken into the ark, and two of unclean. In 6:19, 20 and 7:8 two of each, clean and unclean, went into the ark. It is very difficult to fit together at all the numbers of days given in 7:11-8:14. In 8:13 we are told that in the first month the earth was dry; in 8:14 we read that in the second month it was dry.

In chapter 15:5 Abraham is brought forth abroad to look toward heaven to see whether he can number the stars of heaven. In 15:12 and 17, the sun is just going down.

In 17:16-19 and 18:9-15 the promise of a son to Abraham is twice given.

In 28:18, 19 and 35:14, 15 there are two accounts

of how Bethel received its name. In 32:28 and 35:10 are two accounts of the changing of Jacob's name to Israel. In 32:3 and 33:16 Esau is represented as already settled in Mt. Seir, whereas in 36:6, 7 he is represented as just withdrawing to that place because Canaan was not large enough for both Jacob and himself.

In the story of the selling of Joseph to strangers in chapter 37, the traveling merchantmen to whom he was sold are sometimes referred to as Ishmaelites (vs. 25, 27, 28), sometimes as Midianites (vs. 28, 36).

Some of the episodes of Genesis are incomplete. In chapter four, verse seventeen, there is the oft-discussed statement that Cain had a wife, whereas up to this point he is represented as the first child of Adam and Eve, and the only one left after he had killed his brother Abel. Again, in the story (ch. 24) of the servant's journey to Abraham's kindred and return with Rebekah it is Abraham who sends the servant away, but Isaac who greets them on the return, nothing being said about Abraham at the close.

Here and there are snatches of poetry, as in 4:23, in the story of Lamech; 9:25, in the curse of Canaan; 25:23, at the birth of Esau and Jacob; 27:27, in Isaac's blessing of Jacob; 27:39, his blessing of Isaac; and chapter 49, Jacob's dying characterization of his sons.

Some passages have no close connection with the remainder of the book. Thus chapter 36 gives a rather isolated list of the descendants of Esau, and Chapter 38 gives the story of Judah and Tamar which interrupts the narrative of the experiences of Joseph.

These features of the book of Genesis make it difficult to follow the story through in a continuous and

connected way, and have caused much difficulty in the minds of many Bible students. The key to the situation seems to lie in the suggestion made by Astruc, a French scholar in the eighteenth century, and widely accepted by scholars at the present day. This suggestion is that the book is composite in structure, and as we have it now, not the work of a single original hand, but derived from several sources. In other words it is a compilation rather than a single composition. The compiler who put it into its present form apparently had before him stories and records from various sources, and these he wove together into as nearly a connected account as he could. His respect for the materials led him to do this rather than write a new account on the basis of them, as, for example, Josephus, the Jewish historian, did later. The joints and sutures, therefore, are evident in many places. Where two versions of the same event were in existence, and neither was preferred essentially to the other, he either wove them closely together, as in the story of the flood and the selling of Joseph, or placed them near each other in the best order he could determine, as in the stories of creation, the genealogies, and the accounts of the naming of Bethel.

The union is so incomplete in some cases that the episodes seem disconnected from what goes before and after, as in the stories of Cain and of Judah mentioned above. The idea of perfect consistency and perfect completeness was not the compiler's primary thought.

And when we take into account the reference in 36:31 to the Kingdom of Israel it seems clear that this collection of stories was made after the people were well settled and organized, and had some leisure to look back upon the past, trace out their origins and

assemble the stories which had been handed down from the past.

This interpretation makes intelligible the duplications, redundancies, and apparent incongruities in the book, the detached character of some of the episodes, and the various conceptions of God, some of them primitive, as in the story of the Garden of Eden, the tower of Babel, and the meeting of the angels with Abraham before the destruction of Sodom.

It does, of course, make untenable the view that Moses wrote the book. But nothing in the book itself says that he did or indicates any such theory. That view is based upon a late Hebrew interpretation, based upon no exact scholarship. The title, "First Book of Moses," which we find in our English Bibles does not stand in the Hebrew text. It is based on later interpretation, which associated all Hebrew institutions with Moses in their origin.

The book of Exodus shows similar complexities. Among the most noticeable we may mention the double name of the father-in-law of Moses,—Reuel in 2:18, Jethro in 3:1, etc. Exodus 6:3 says God was not known to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob by the name Jehovah. But this name occurs in Genesis. Exodus 20 introduces the decalogue rather suddenly. Furthermore, when Moses broke the first table of stones and a new set of commandments was given to him, they were not at all a duplicate of the first. This is evident from a comparison of chapter twenty with chapter thirty-four. Moreover the almost exact identity of the style of the decalogue of chapter 20 with the whole of Deuteronomy, especially Deut. 5:6-21, makes the suspicion strong that the passage was inserted into Exodus from Deuteronomy by

some student of Jewish law who felt the superior character of the Deuteronomic to the Exodus code. Then some still later student harmonized the two by the view that the code was given twice.

Leviticus is very different in style from the Book of Genesis and the narrative parts of Exodus. If there were no other reason for holding that Moses did not write all the Pentateuch, abundant basis for doubt would lie in the different literary styles of Genesis, Leviticus and Deuteronomy. There are complexities in the text of Leviticus. But they are less marked than those of Genesis and Exodus.

Numbers shows different styles, partly that of the flowing narratives of Genesis, partly the formal, legalistic style of Leviticus.

Deuteronomy has an oratorical, hortatory style, with some complexities within it, but like those of Leviticus, they are not detected with perfect ease.

Joshua shows many complexities, ranging through the styles of Genesis to those of Leviticus and Deuteronomy. The first chapter is a typical Deuteronomic passage; chapter seven a typical passage with the style of Genesis 2; chapter 15: 1-12 a passage in the style of Leviticus. There are incoherences in the stories as, for example, in that of the memorial stones commemorating the crossing of the Jordan; 4: 9 says they were set up in the midst of Jordan; 4: 20 says they were set up in Gilgal. One of the most interesting passages is that of 10: 12, 13, in which Joshua commands the sun to stand still. As clearly indicated in the American Revision the passage is poetry, though some prosaic commentator seems to have added a statement about the length of time the sun stopped. The answer to all the speculation

as to the possibility of the sun's standing still is that poetry needs no astronomical verification.

It is to be noted, too, that verse 13 says: "Is it not written in the book of Jashar?"—a reference to an earlier source from which the writer derived the passage. This is clear indication that the present book of Joshua is based upon earlier sources. And it happens that this book of Jashar has not survived the vicissitudes of history. It is known now only through this and the quotation in II Sam. 1:18-27.

The Book of Judges is very similar in spirit and in literary style to Genesis, with here and there a passage distinctly like Deuteronomy, as, for instance, chapter 10 and here and there a few like Leviticus and Numbers, as 20:20-28. Chapters 17 and 18 and 19-21 constitute a kind of appendix to the book, with no direct connection with the rest.

Ruth has affinities with the stories of Judges; but some phrases, as 4:7, which explains an obsolete custom, indicate that it is an early story retold at a later date.

I, II Samuel are similar in spirit and style to much of Genesis, with here and there a touch of the Deuteronomic hand, as in 16:1-13 and 28:3-25. In II Samuel 1:18 is the other reference to the Book of Jashar, this time quoting David's lament over Saul and Jonathan. The plurality of sources in Samuel is indicated by the story of David's introduction to the court of Saul. In I Samuel, 16:19, Saul sends for David to come and soothe him with music; and according to 16:21 Saul loved him greatly and David became his armor bearer. According to 17:58, after the combat with Goliath neither Saul nor Abner knows who the young man is; according to 18:2 it was then that Saul

kept him with him; and would not allow him to go back home. Chapters 22-24 are an appendix to II Samuel, giving data which did not find place in the body of the story. It is here that the story of the water from the well at Bethlehem is told (23: 13-17).

The early chapters of Kings are similar to Samuel. But as the narrative continues sections of a more concise and formal style are introduced. One needs only to compare the style of chapters 1 and 2 of I Kings with that of chapters 4 and 6: 14-38 to sense the difference. The situation seems to be this: The story has reached the age of the kings in which, as in Egypt and Babylonia, official annals and temple records are kept. From these the compositor has drawn his information, adding here and there a section, as in I Kings 13, which has more similarities to the style of Deuteronomy than to the fourth chapter of I Kings. Here and there a summary of the reigns is inserted as in I Kings, 22: 51-53, II Kings 8: 23, 24, etc.

I, II Chronicles do not show the complex structure of Samuel and Kings.

Ezra and Nehemiah are apparently based upon contemporary records (e. g. Ezra 8, 9, Neh. 4-6), worked over by the author of Chronicles (cf. II Chronicles, 36: 22, 23, and Ezra, 1: 1-4; Nehemiah, 7: 6-73, and Ezra, 2: 1-70).

Esther does not show complexities of style.

The most obvious features of Job are the prose introduction, chapters 1 and 2, the prose conclusion, 42: 7-17, chapter 32: 1-6, introducing the Elihu speeches of chapters 32-37, and the poem on Wisdom in chapter 28, which supplants Zophar's third speech.

That the Psalms were not all written by David is evi-

denced by the superscriptions to many of them. For example, the ninetieth is ascribed to Moses; 127, to Solomon; 137 expresses the sorrows of the exiles in Babylon; etc.

Proverbs is composite, as indicated by the headings to several sections, e. g. 10:1; 25:1; 30:1; 31:1.

Ecclesiastes has many abrupt transitions. The unity is not close. The longer paragraphs of the earlier chapters pass later into couplets similar to many of those in Proverbs.

The Song of Songs has a unity of theme; but not a close unity of composition.

Isaiah shows a very noticeable break in style at chapter forty. Chapters 40-66 could not have been written by the same man as 1-39. Both style and point of view are different: 1-39 are concerned with the immediate problems of the approach of the Assyrians during the reigns of Ahaz and Hezekiah; 40-66 are concerned with conditions in Israel at the time of the return from exile. Chapters 36-39 are clearly an appendix to chapters 1-35, similar to the appendix to II Samuel.

Jeremiah shows complexities indicating plural authorship. It is composed in part of writings believed to be from Jeremiah himself, but they have become disarranged in the course of time (for example, chapter 46 deals with an event which occurred before the events of chapter 25). Some portions have been edited by a later hand, as chapter 31. Sections not from Jeremiah also have been inserted, as chapter 30.

Lamentations shows difference of quality in poetry and style, chapters two and four being superior to the rest.

Ezekiel shows no complexities of style. Some chapters

are apparently misplaced. But otherwise it is a continuous unit.

Daniel shows a break at the end of chapter six. The last verse of this chapter is a summary statement of Daniel's prosperity. Chapters seven to twelve are concerned not with the biography of Daniel, but with visions of the course of history, and show Daniel not as the vigorous young man of the first six chapters, but one constantly falling in a swoon.

Hosea shows marks of a late editorial hand here and there, as, for example, in chapter 1, where, after the prophet has denounced Israel and has declared that Jehovah has rejected it (vs. 9), verse 10 promises that the number of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea. This evidently is an addition by a later editor who thinks of the promise to Abraham as yet to be fulfilled. If Hosea had uttered it he would have destroyed the point of his message.

Joel shows no complexities of text.

The denunciations of Amos have been softened by a later hand, as is evident in the last chapter at verses 8 (end) and 11-15.

The short book of Obadiah shows no marked irregularities. Possibly verses 6, 8 and 9 are secondary.

Micah shows a text structure similar to that of Hosea and Amos; 4:1-3 is a passage found word for word also in Isaiah 2:2-4, though it does not fit in either position; 7:7-20 reads like a psalm rather than like the central message of the book.

Nahum has in chapter 1:2-10, 12, 13, 15 verses which have no bearing upon the real theme of the book, namely, the downfall of Nineveh.

In Habakkuk the poem of chapter three has no con-

nection with the prose material of chapters 1 and 2, and is therefore regarded as coming from another hand.

Zephaniah—like Hosea and Amos—has softening verses at 2:8-11 which promises punishment upon the nations, and at 3:8-20 which promises Israel's return from captivity.

Haggai is a consistent unit.

Zechariah 1-8 is concerned with the time of the return from the Babylonian captivity in 520 B. C. But chapters 9-14 look forward to Jehovah's universal reign in a Messianic Kingdom.

Malachi is a unit with only here and there a verse which has been suspected (2:11, 12).

Thus we see that most of the books of the Old Testament show evidence of complex structure. It is upon the basis of this evidence that it is now generally held that they have had a lengthy history. A number of the early ones, especially of the Pentateuch, are derived from sources which are otherwise lost to us. Many, especially the Prophets, have been studied and restudied, edited and re-edited, and verses have been added or inserted adapting them to the problems and needs of later times. The different strata of thought discovered in them are clear indications of their long history and use. We may consider ourselves fortunate in being able thus to trace out the evidence of their literary history.

PART THREE—APPLICATIONS TO THE NEW TESTAMENT

VII

THE WITNESS OF EXTERNAL HISTORY

What now is the external evidence as to the origin and nature of the New Testament? What references are there to it and to the events described in it in ancient non-biblical writings? By whom are they made, and how far back in time do they go? How nearly contemporary are they to the persons and events of the New Testament and to the time of writing of the New Testament documents?

We may again subdivide the field into two divisions: 1. Evidence regarding the New Testament documents, their early existence and the place they held in the thought of the first and second centuries. 2. Evidence regarding the events alleged in the New Testament, persons and occurrences, and the intellectual background of New Testament ideas. Each of these is important for the proper understanding and estimation of the New Testament writings.

Through reference and cross reference we are able to trace the discussion (in secular documents) of the doctrines of Christianity back to the end of the first century A. D. Evidence of the existence of New Testament teachings exists in several different stages. Some references are very indirect. They do not quote the writings in question. They presuppose them and make reference to their contents in a general way, with some

approximation to the language in which the thought is expressed in the New Testament. Other references are apparently attempts at quotations, but being given from memory or without premeditation, they are inexact in language though essentially similar in thought. Others are quotations, without citation of exact source. Finally, some are exact, with reference, and conscious appeal to authority. We are able to trace stages in reference to the New Testament writings much more in detail than in the case of the Old Testament. Such references are, of course, valuable aids in determining the latest dates at which the writings were made. They are less valuable in determining authorship. One must, of course, be cautious about drawing conclusions. In judging chronological sequence there must be good reason to believe there is real literary dependence in the case of the apparent reference to Scripture, because the same thought does at times occur independently to different thinkers. Similarity of human experience and similarity of problems and methods of thought lead to this result. There must, therefore, be some indication as to which of two writings came first before we can judge which is dependent upon the other.

Down to 135 A. D., the year of the Second Jewish War against Rome, the writings of the early Christian "Fathers" do not refer to any New Testament sacred literature. They accept the writings of our Old Testament, also accepted by the Jews, and in addition to these an oral tradition of the life and work of Jesus, as interpreted by the Apostles and their official successors in the churches. They do make references to "Scriptures," but these are the Old Testament, with no sharp line between canonical and non-canonical books. And

further, the utterances of the churches and of authoritative individuals were regarded as inspired. But for a long time, at least a century, the New Testament writings are not included among "Scripture." Some very early writers preferred oral to written accounts, because the oral were of the character of reports of eye witnesses.

The earliest writings to which we are able through reference and cross reference to trace the discussion of Christian doctrine are those of Clement of Rome. Clement was, according to the statement of ancient writers whose assertions seem trustworthy, a disciple of the apostles and a bishop of Rome in the last decade of the first century A. D. One letter ascribed to him is generally accepted as genuine. It is addressed to the church at Corinth and makes direct reference to the work of Paul in that church.

The epistle of Clement illustrates the principle of reference to the substance of the writings of the New Testament without exact quotation or citation of authority. His vocabulary and style show similarities to Paul's letter to the Roman church, to the epistles of James, John, and Hebrews; the gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke; and some other New Testament books. But the prime source of authority, however, for him was the Holy Spirit which was felt to animate the church and its leaders. Writing to the Corinthians, he urges them to bear in mind the epistle in which Paul had warned them against factions and against the overemphasis of their connection with Cephas or Apollos. This reference is to I Corinthians, 1 : 10 ff. The Old Testament was "Scripture" to Clement. The newer doctrines of Christianity have their authority as fulfil-

ment of the prophecies of the old, but he speaks of the "words of the Lord Jesus" as if they were common property of those living in his day, known through oral quotation, not through citation of written documents. The epistle of Clement is usually dated about 93-96 A. D. and is especially significant because of its reference to an oral tradition about the words of Jesus, not yet thought of as reduced to writing, and because of the reference to Paul and his letters.

The next works of importance are the writings of Ignatius, bishop of Antioch in Syria. A number of his letters have come down to us, especially one to the church at Ephesus, one to that at Magnesia, one to Philadelphia, and one to the Romans. His writings come from the period 110-117 A. D. In writing to the Ephesians he refers to the letters of Paul, to his martyrdom, using language indicating a familiarity with Ephesians, 3:3-5. There are traces also of knowledge of other New Testament writings, such as Matthew, I, II Corinthians, Romans, Galatians, etc. Ignatius lays emphasis upon the "Apostolic succession" rather than written documents, as establishing the true doctrine of the Church.

Contemporary with Ignatius is Polycarp, from whom a letter has come down to us, addressed to the church at Philippi. Polycarp was bishop of Smyrna. He refers to Paul's having written to the church of Philippi and uses language indicating familiarity with many of our New Testament books, such as I and II Corinthians, Romans, Galatians, Ephesians, and Philippians, Matthew, Acts, I Peter, I John. Polycarp's epistle contains more reflections of the phraseology of the New Testament books than any other work of his age, and

indicates a progressing formulation of a text like ours, as authoritative. Polycarp's attitude is important in that it represents the beginning of appeal to written records. It marks the transition from dependence upon oral tradition to dependence upon documentary records of the work of the apostles. It reflects the passing of time and the increasing distance between the original witnesses to Christianity and the later teachers and workers for whom the early events of the doctrine have become history learned at second hand, not by immediate presence. Polycarp does not yet refer to the writings of Paul as "Scriptures;" but he is on the way which later led to this result. For him the writings of Paul are not yet of equal authority with what are our Old Testament writings, but they are of greater importance, of course, than the writings or utterances of those who are not considered apostles. Polycarp's phraseology is influenced by that of our New Testament writings as clearly as is the phraseology of Clement marked by that of the Old Testament. But though Polycarp is a thorough student of what to us are New Testament books, they had not yet become formally acknowledged as a new authoritative collection.

From a period ten or fifteen years later than Polycarp comes a document ascribed to Barnabas, and while not surely from his hand is yet from an early period in the church. This work refers to "Scripture," meaning the Old Testament, but considers it as correctly interpreted only by revelation through Christ. It gives the first reference to a New Testament passage (Matthew 22:14) as Scripture, although it is not certain that the saying was consciously taken as originating in the New Testament.

In Marcion, who wrote, about 140 A. D., the authority of the Gospel of Luke and the letters of Paul, is taken as superior to that of the Old Testament. He rejected the Pastoral Epistles of Paul (I, II Timothy and Titus). For what reason is unknown, but it is of interest to note that criticism was being exercised upon the documents even at this date.

Papias (145-160 A. D.) in his youth preferred oral tradition to written record. To him the oral tradition was possessed of a vitality which written documents did not have. Papias gives us the first direct reference to the authorship of the Gospels. He himself later became interested in writing down the record of Christian story, and marks thereby the transition from oral tradition to written record. He tells us that his method was to question those whom he happened to meet with and who had been associated with the elders of the Palestinian church, these elders in turn having been disciples of the Apostles and, therefore, in the most direct line of tradition. From these he learned what the disciples had said and done and thus he derived the information for his own records.

It is Papias who says that the Gospel story of Mark was learned by Mark from Peter, and was based upon the statements made by Peter from time to time as occasion demanded. He also tells us that Matthew made a collection of the sayings of Jesus in Hebrew, although some of his statements of their contents seem at variance with our present book of Matthew.

Contemporary with Papias was Justin Martyr. An interesting statement from him is to the effect that John, one of the apostles of Christ, had prophesied through a revelation granted to him that those who be-

lieved on Christ should live a thousand years in Jerusalem. This looks like a reference to our book of Revelation. He refers also to the practice current in his day of reading from the Gospels as well as from the Old Testament. His express references to memoirs composed by the Apostles and called Gospels[1] are to passages in the Synoptic Gospels. But these gospels are not referred to by him as "Scripture." This is still for him the Old Testament, but the "Teaching of the Lord" has acquired authority which places it alongside of Scripture. The test of the true teaching of the Lord, however, is the word of the Apostles. One writing, the Revelation of John, one of the Apostles of Christ, he does recognize as having a special claim to authority, because it is both apostolic and prophetic.

Tatian, a pupil of Justin, about 170 A. D. composed a work which is called the Diatessaron, a composite story of the life of Jesus constructed by weaving together the four Gospels of our New Testament. The fact that he used these indicates that by his time they had become recognized as authoritative.

Irenaeus, about ten years later than Tatian, uses our four Gospels exclusively and regards even their language as inspired. He refers also to the Revelation of John, quotes from I John, and I Peter, and refers to the "Shepherd" of Hermas as Scripture. He says Matthew wrote his Gospel among the Hebrews in their own language while Peter and Paul were working at Rome, attributes Mark's gospel to Peter's account, and Luke's to the gospel Paul had preached. John, he says, afterwards published his Gospel in Ephesus.

A fragmentary work dealing with the canon of the

[1]Apology, Ch. LXVI.

early church, discovered at Milan, first published by Muratori in 1740, and believed to have been written about 170 A. D. opens with a sentence about Mark (presumably a statement about Matthew has been lost from the beginning), speaks of Luke, John, Acts I, II Corinthians, Galatians, Romans, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, I, II Thessalonians, Revelation, Philemon, Titus, I, II Timothy, Jude, I, II John, Wisdom of Solomon (!), and Apocalypse of Peter (!) (though he admits this is disputed by some).

Epiphanius (180-200) regarded a Hebrew gospel used by the Nazarenes as the original Hebrew Matthew.

Serapion of Antioch (191-211) found the Gospel of Peter still publicly read in the church at Rhossus, though later suppressed.

Tertullian (200-210) excuses himself for citing Hebrews, a work ascribed not to an apostle but to Barnabas, and speaks of I John as not claiming to be apostolic.

Eusebius (260-340 A. D.) refers to Jude and the other general epistles as disputed books, along with the Epistle of Barnabas and the Apocalypse of Peter.

Thus we see in brief the external evidence in the first two centuries A. D. of the development of the New Testament canon, indicating that when the books were written they were not possessed of and did not claim the authority of the Old Testament, and that only gradually did they assume a place of authority. And the decision as to what was canonical and what was not occupied at least two hundred years. The process was essentially an unconscious one. The decision was not the act of any one man, nor of a definite council of the early church.

We thus have the witness of the early church fathers

to the work and writings of the Apostles, which in turn bear witness to the work of Jesus. Of course, in so far as the contact of the fathers with the Apostles was indirect and narrated only after a lapse of time, the proneness of the human mind to errors of bias and omission must be taken into account. But at any rate the historical material on which any interpretation of the events of New Testament times must rest is such as that suggested above. The problem of calculating the degree to which the writers were marked by bias, omission, or individual interpretation is a very important problem, but one into which space forbids our entering here.

As for authoritative witness of the life and work of Jesus outside the New Testament the indications are very few. But these are hardly to be expected since the attempt of the Church was to gather into an accepted canon the authentic accounts. There are, however, in secular literature some half dozen references which are of interest since they indicate the existence of the Christian tradition.

One of these, a letter of Pliny the Younger, written about 112 A. D., while he was governor of Bithynia in Asia Minor, and directed to the Emperor Trajan, describes the situation which had arisen through the spread of the Christian "superstition." It had affected attendance at the temples and trade in victims for sacrifices, as well as the practice of offering worship to the Roman Emperor. Pliny hopes for an improvement in the situation. But the fact of interest to us is his need of discussing the problem. It indicates the spread of the doctrine to such an extent that the Roman authorities found it necessary to take cognizance of it.

Of the details of Christianity Pliny knows little, as might be expected. He knows that Christians reverence one called Christ and sing hymns to him. But beyond this he is unacquainted with details.

Suetonius (about 100 A. D.) makes reference to Nero's punishing the Christians. Tacitus in his Annals says those who were persecuted by Nero were named from Christ, who had been put to death by Pontius Pilate in the reign of Tiberius.

In the writings of Josephus, the Jewish officer who served in the Roman army in the latter part of the first Century A. D., there are two passages which refer to Jesus. One of these is generally regarded as an insertion, not from the hand of Josephus, or at least an alteration of his original statement. The other refers to the stoning of James, the brother of Jesus, the so-called Christ.

The extra-Biblical witness to the existence of Jesus is thus very meager. But as suggested above this is doubtless to be expected under the circumstances.

The frequent references in the New Testament to the Roman officials, mention being made in many places of their names, leads us to ask how far the records of the Roman historians themselves verify the statements of the New Testament writers. Thus, for instance, the story of the birth of Jesus is placed by both Matthew and Luke during the reign of Herod, King of Judea. The history of the family of the Herods, several members of which are mentioned in the New Testament, is to be found in some detail in the Antiquities of Josephus. This work is the fundamental source for this phase of Jewish-Roman history. The point of view from which Josephus approaches the events is somewhat dif-

ferent, of course, from that of the New Testament writers. But in general what he says corroborates the statements of the Gospels. If we were to assume so skeptical a position as to ask how we know that the New Testament records are not pure fictions of interested parties the writings of Josephus seem to be adequate evidence that the Roman background assumed by the New Testament is historically actual.

At the other extreme of the gospel story stands Pontius Pilate. His existence also is evidenced by Josephus in his Antiquities; in the writings of the Jewish-Alexandrian philosopher Philo (in the work called Embassy to Gaius); and in the Annals of the Roman historian Tacitus. Pilate is not mentioned in connection with his trial of Jesus, but the references to other phases of his career are even more important witnesses to his historicity than would references to his connection with Christianity be.

In the book of Acts we find reference to two officials by the name of Agrippa. (Cf. chapters 12 and 25.) The first of these is mentioned by Josephus and Philo, and his likeness is found on ancient coins. The second is mentioned by Josephus and Dio Cassius, a historian of the end of the second century, and his name is found in inscriptions and on coins.

Felix, before whom Paul was arraigned at Caesarea, is mentioned in the Annals of Tacitus. And Josephus mentions Festus, before whom Paul made his appeal to Caesar.

It seems thus evident that the general historicity of New Testament narrative is verified, although there still remains the possibility of errors in details. The New

Testament story belongs in the class of historical documents, however, not in the realm of historical fiction or pure romance. To the Christian this seems unnecessary to state. But in answering the questions of the outsider even this is worth establishing upon a firm basis.

VIII

THE NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS: THEIR NUMBER AND CONDITION

The manuscripts of the New Testament are more numerous than are the manuscripts of any other ancient work, a fact not surprising in view of the high estimate of value placed upon it, as contrasted with any other product of the ancient literary world. There are over 4000 manuscripts of parts or all of it in Greek, besides translations into other ancient languages. These also run into the thousands. Thus it is estimated that there are about 8000 copies of the Latin Vulgate version, and at least a thousand in other languages, such as Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, Ethiopic, Gothic, etc. There are at least 12,000 copies of various kinds, and no two of them exactly alike. Hence the task of examining and comparing these for the purpose of classifying them into groups, estimating their dates and interrelations for the purpose of determining the original readings of the books of the New Testament is an enormous one.

Substances used for writing material changed from time to time in the course of history, and this is one means of determining the general date of a manuscript. From the middle of the first to the beginning of the fourth century the common material was papyrus, made from a plant which grows plentifully in Egypt. From the fourth to the ninth century the material chiefly used was vellum, or parchment, that is, calf or sheep-

skin prepared and polished for writing upon. After the ninth century, especially from the fourteenth, a kind of paper was prepared in addition to vellum. Thus it is obvious that the writing material used gives a suggestion of the date of the manuscript, though only within very broad limits of time.

There was also some change in the style of writing with the passing of time, and this also aids in determining dates. The earliest texts are written in letters called uncials, that is, a rounded form of capital letters, written without separation of words and usually without punctuation marks. With the change from vellum to paper there came a change in style of writing from uncials to what are called minuscules or cursives, smaller letters and written apparently more rapidly, linked together and constituting a running hand. These characteristics of the style of writing are so general that they give only approximate dates. Within the two styles, however, there are variations which when studied carefully by those who give minute attention to this phase of the work do suggest more definite indications of time and place of composition.

There is no complete copy of any book of the Bible from the period of papyrus manuscripts. Only small fragments exist, as, for example, one containing a part of the first chapter of Matthew (now in Philadelphia), another parts of the first and the twentieth chapters of John (now at Oxford, England); still another containing parts of the second, tenth, eleventh, and twelfth chapters of Hebrews, found at Oxyrhynchus, in Egypt, in 1896, and now in the British Museum.

Of the uncials only one, called the Code X Sinaiticus, and indicated by the Hebrew letter aleph (ℵ), contains

the complete New Testament. Four more, the Codex Alexandrinus (A), Codex Vaticanus (B), Codex Ephraemi (C) and an unnamed one (Ψ), originally contained the entire New Testament; but parts have been torn away and lost in the course of time. There are nine containing complete copies of the Gospels; seven of Acts; nine of the General Epistles; seven of the Epistles of Paul; and four of Revelation.

Two large manuscripts, ℵ and B of the above list, and a half dozen small fragments seem to come from the fourth century A. D. A and C of the list above belong to the fifth century, together with about two dozen fragments, and some portions of the Gospels in the possession of Mr. C. L. Freer, of Detroit. Thirty-five fragments are assigned to the sixth century, twenty-five to the seventh, twenty to the eighth, forty-three to the ninth, and twelve to the tenth. Thus it is evident that the early relatively complete manuscripts of the New Testament are very few.

Of all these one of the most important is the Codex Sinaiticus (ℵ). It was accidentally discovered in 1844 by the German Biblical scholar, Constantin Tischendorf, who was traveling in the Near East and was on the lookout for ancient manuscripts. In the course of his journeyings he visited the convent of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai, and while there happened to notice in a waste basket some leaves of vellum on which were Greek characters in an early style. He asked whether he might have them and was granted the request; and was also told that a number of pages of the same kind had been used to kindle the fires. The pages given him consisted of forty-three leaves of the Septuagint Version of the Old Testament, containing parts of I Chron-

icles, Jeremiah, Nehemiah, and Esther. He was shown other parts of the same manuscript, but was unable to acquire possession of them. The portions he had acquired he deposited in the University Library at Leipzig. Its contents were published in 1846.

Fifteen years after the first discovery Tischendorf made another visit to the same convent, and while conversing with the steward of the convent on the subject of the Septuagint, was told by the steward that he also had a copy of it. He presently produced it, wrapped in a napkin. And there Tischendorf saw the rest of the manuscript from which he had obtained some leaves. It included a great part of the Old Testament and all of the New in good condition, with two additional books, the Epistle of Barnabas and the Shepherd of Hermas (in large part). This was the first copy of the Epistle of Barnabas that had been known in Greek. He spent the night making a copy of it in his room, where he had obtained permission to take the work. Tischendorf persuaded the possessors of the work to allow it to be taken to Cairo, where a complete copy was made. Some time later they were persuaded to present it to the Czar of Russia, who was the patron of the Greek Church and also patron of Tischendorf at the time. It was placed in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg, and was published in complete form in 1862. The vellum on which it was written is believed to have been made from antelope skin. The style of writing, arrangement of the page, and section numbers on the margin, indicate that it was copied in the fourth century, although some corrections have been made in it by later hands. It is believed to have been copied either in Caesarea or in Egypt.

The second important manuscript of the Greek New Testament is the Codex Vaticanus (B). It, like the Codex Sinaiticus, is written on very fine vellum, in a style very similar to that of the other, although unfortunately the dimming of the original letters has led to some one's retracing them, an occurrence which while it preserves the original readings obscures the fine points of the original letters themselves. It originally contained the entire Greek Bible, but it now lacks part of Genesis and Psalms; and Hebrews 9:14-13:25, I, II Timothy, Titus, and Revelation are absent. The style of writing (simplicity, lack of ornament and enlarged capitals) and the method of division of the text indicate that it comes from an early date, probably from the fourth century. The place of origin of the manuscript has been much discussed, as in the case of the Codex Sinaiticus; many authorities believe it to be from Caesarea, although there are some indications that it may be from Egypt. At any rate, it is generally believed that both these manuscripts present an Eastern Text.

A third important manuscript is the so-called Codex Alexandrinus (A). The formation of the letters (including enlarged capitals at the beginning of paragraphs), the arrangement of the page, and the divisions of the text indicate that it originated in Egypt, as its name suggests, at a time somewhat later than the other two manuscripts mentioned. It is commonly dated from the fifth century A. D. It is believed to have been taken from Alexandria to Constantinople, whence it was offered as a gift to James I, of England. It was actually received by Charles I in 1627 and deposited in the Royal Library. Later it came into the possession

of the British Museum. It originally contained all the Old and New Testaments, but has become mutilated in several places. The Gospel of Matthew down to 25:6 is missing; also John 6:50-8:52; and II Cor. 4:13-12:6. At the end of the New Testament is has the I, II Epistles of Clement, the first copies ever discovered. Parts of these are missing, and the Psalms of Solomon which, according to the table of contents, was once included is now lost. A feature of interest of this table of contents is that it indicates that the Epistles of Clement were included among the canonical books, though a space between these and the Psalms of Solomon indicates that this work was not regarded as canonical. The text is peculiar in that the gospels follow the readings of eastern texts, while the rest follows the western.

A fourth important manuscript is the Codex Ephraemi (C). It is a palimpsest, that is, a manuscript used twice, the earlier text having been erased as far as possible and another work written over it. In this case the older text was that of the Greek Bible, the later a Greek version of certain treatises of St. Ephraem of Syria, whence its present name. It originally contained the entire Bible; but much has been lost. Of the books of the New Testament all except II Thessalonians and II John are represented, but none is complete. It is written upon vellum, though not of very fine quality. The style of writing is similar to that of the Codex Alexandrinus, and is dated from about the first half of the fifth century A. D. It was brought from the East in the sixteenth century, was for a time in the possession of the Medici family; later it was taken to Paris

and is now in the National Library there. Its text is neither consistently of the eastern nor the western type.

A fifth manuscript, the Codex Bezae (D), apparently is the oldest one containing only the New Testament. It is named from Theodore Beza, who in the sixteenth century obtained it from the monastery of St. Irenaeus at Lyons, when that city was sacked by the Huguenots. He presented it to the University of Cambridge, where it still remains. It is very incomplete, containing now only the Gospels, parts of Acts, and a fragment of III John. It contains also a Latin text parallel to the Greek. It is believed to date from about the sixth century; and to have been produced in one of the western countries of Europe. The text differs notably from the other texts, containing additions, and ommissions at important places, and synonyms in place of the words found in most of the other texts, together with incorrect grammatical forms in many of the words.

The Codex Claromontanus (D_2) supplements the Codex Bezae since it contains only the Pauline Epistles, resembles it in character, is believed to have originated at about the same time, and, like it, belonged to Beza. It is now in the National Library at Paris. It is a western text with an Old Latin version parallel to the Greek.

It is worth noting that there is nothing fixed about the order of the books in the early manuscripts. In the Codex Sinaiticus the letters of Paul precede the Book of Acts, and Hebrews stand between II Thessalonians and I Timothy. In the Codices Vaticanus and Alexandrinus the general epistles stand between the Book of Acts and Paul's Epistles, and Hebrews precedes I Timothy. In Codex Bezae the Gospels are arranged in the

order—Matthew, John, Luke and Mark; and a part of III John precedes Acts. The rest of the manuscript is missing. Codex Ephraemi also is imperfect, and it is impossible to tell just what its order of the books was.

These are the oldest existent texts of the New Testament. They show what an interval there is between the original records and the earliest manuscripts we now have, and also the variations in readings which have to be taken into account in determining the original text. As time passed the number of manuscripts multiplied until they ran into thousands, but these later ones are not so important as the older because they are copies made from them.

When the numerous manuscripts are compared with each other it is found that they tend to fall into four great groups in each of which the readings are fundamentally similar. It is true that no two manuscripts are exactly alike throughout, but many are similar in more points than they are dissimilar. Professor F. J. A. Hort, one of the greatest of students of the text of the New Testament, named these groups the Traditional, the Alexandrian, the Western and the Neutral. The Traditional is the one on which the Authorized Version was based. It is represented by the Codex Alexandrinus (in the Gospels), and some other, later uncial manuscripts. It has also been referred to as the "Syrian," because Hort supposed it originated at Antioch. The Alexandrian group is represented by Codex Ephraemi and by Alexandrinus outside the Gospels. The most important representative of the Western group is Codex Bezae. And the chief Neutral Texts are Codex Vaticanus and Sinaiticus. Around these all the others are grouped; and it is believed that all in the same group

are derived from the same original source. In the course of time when copies from the various places of origin became known in the same region there was a good deal of assimilation of one to another. Hence many of the later manuscripts show features derived from different groups, and are, therefore, not easily classifiable. But it is of interest to note that the differences of readings fall into these groups, of which there are important early representatives.

One important result of recent study of the manuscripts has been the rejection of the view that the Codex Alexandrinus is the most authoritative text. It is now believed that the most important texts are Codex Vaticanus and Codex Sinaiticus, both "neutral" texts, although the others are still important for comparison where these disagree or are mutilated. But in general where these agree their readings outweigh the readings of any number of other texts. This is an important consideration. It is not merely a question of numbers that decides the correct reading. Any number of late manuscripts has less weight than a few of the very earliest, since the agreement of numbers may be due to multiplication of copies. This consideration has not always been borne in mind by some who have argued for the retention of the "Textus Receptus" or Received Text of the Authorized Version. We now feel under obligation to accept the results of more recent and more exact study of the sources. This is what has led to the Revised Versions of 1881 and 1900.

We cannot feel absolutely sure, however, that even these two earliest codices have the original readings of the New Testament, since there is an interval of at least three centuries between the time when the New

Testament writings were originally composed and the time when these manuscripts were copied in their present form. In order to check still more in detail the readings of these texts use is made of the translations made at early dates into foreign languages, especially the Syriac and Latin. Syriac was the language of the region at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea in New Testament times, and Latin was the language of the Roman Empire in general. While the process of translation carries us a step away from the original we can often, by means of retranslation back into the Greek, judge what must have been the reading of the text from which the translation was made.

There are many manuscripts of these translations, and they also differ somewhat from one another in their readings. Thus the same problem of determining their original reading is presented as in the case of the Greek manuscripts. But by means of the same methods these manuscripts also are compared, classified and grouped, and judgment passed so far as possible upon their age, for the purpose of determining their earliest readings. When this is done we are ready to compare this resultant text with the readings of the Greek text and in this way throw what light we can upon the original reading of the Greek.

We have Syriac and Old Latin manuscripts more or less fragmentary dating from as far back as the fourth century A. D.; and where for any reason the text of the Greek manuscripts is uncertain these translations often help in determining how it should read.

Another aid which is taken into account consists of quotations in the writings of the earliest Church Fathers. But these have to be used very carefully since the same

difficulty regarding the true reading of the texts of their writings has to be met, and even then we cannot be sure they were not quoting from memory, with all the danger of inaccuracy which this involves. And here especially the copyist is apt to rely upon his own memory rather than copy what he actually sees before him. Or he is apt to make what he regards as a correction in what looks to him like a misquotation in the work he is copying.

In spite of all these measures which are taken to determine the original reading of the text there remain some unsolved problems. In numerous places different and apparently equally good authorities give different readings, and it is impossible with the present data to decide which should be followed. Open the New Testament almost at random and you will find at the bottom of the page notes indicating such variations in the readings. Thus, Acts 26:16 reads in the body of the text "the things wherein thou hast seen me," but a footnote says, "many ancient authorities read *which thou hast seen.*" I Corinthians 11:24 reads in the text "which is for you," while a note says, "Many ancient authorities read *is broken for you.*" II Thessalonians 2:8 omits the word "Jesus" in many ancient authorities. Of course most of these variants are small details not affecting the general meaning of the text. But some of them do occur at critical points, and when interpretation depends upon fine details, as at times it does, these apparently small differences become important. For example, in Matthew 1:25, where the "Received Text" reads "her first-born son," the Codices Sinaiticus and Vaticanus read "a son," and this change has been made in the Revised Versions. In Mark 1:1, Codex Sinaiticus

omits the phrase "the Son of God," although Codex Vaticanus has it. Luke 22:43, 44 are contained in Sinaiticus, but not in Codex Alexandrinus nor Vaticanus. All the principal early manuscripts omit from John the story of the woman taken in adultery, (7:53-8:11).

To some this question of the exact details of the original text may seen like over-emphasis upon minutiae. But it must not be forgotten that the reason for it lies in the fact that sometimes a hair divides the false and true; and also that a simple desire to know just exactly what was said and done, even though it be a purely theoretical interest, leads us to these questions as a part of truth. To others it may seem that this uncertainty which attends the text may undermine the authority of the documents. After all they do not give absolute and unequivocal statements of fact; and therefore, cannot be used to settle controversies. To these we can only say that the fundamental lesson to be learned from the state of the text is that details must not be unduly emphasized. Although we should like to be able to determine exactly what was said and done a little knowledge of our situation must lead us to confess that at present we cannot claim complete knowledge. Doubtless many questions, even important ones, will have to be left open for the present. We must continue our search for more evidence. We must be satisfied for the present to catch the spirit of things and leave the exact letter for future determination. We ought to be tolerant in the light of the limitations of our knowledge. We ought to avoid finespun controversies where the details are in doubt. It ought to mean if nothing else a new appreciation of the fact that the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life.

IX

THOUGHT CONTENT AND TEXT STRUCTURE

When we turn attention to the question of the integrity of the text of the New Testament books we find varying results. Some seem to be literary units with no indications of complexity of structure; they seem to be from one single hand, and to be continuous compositions. Others show breaks at certain points, indicating that they do not come entirely from the same composer. Some appear to have become disarranged in the course of time, and read more intelligibly if placed in a different order. We shall here review briefly the chief features which stand out in the study of these books.

Matthew, in style and vocabulary, seems to be a literary unit. It does not show features which would lead us to believe that the work as it now stands is a mere composite of sections from entirely unrelated composers. Nevertheless there are certain features which seem to indicate that the writer was drawing from earlier sources derived from various directions and not worked together into a perfect unity. Thus there are suggestions of duplications of the same story appearing in somewhat different settings, but with sufficient similarity to suggest that they are variants of a single original whose exact setting was forgotten in the course of transmission. For example, in 9:27-31 and in 20:29-34 we

have the story of the two blind men, who cry out, Have mercy on us, thou son of David. Chapter 9 seems to set it in Galilee, chapter 20 near Jericho. Certainly the similarity of the episodes is noticeable. Similarly in 12:38-41 and 16:1-4 we find the Pharisees and others seeking a sign and receiving the reply: An evil and adulterous generation seeketh after a sign, and there shall no sign be given it but the sign of Jonah. The story of the feeding of the multitudes, in chapters 14 and 15, have also been regarded as variant versions of the same event, although both are referred to in 16:9, 10. Those who hold that the two are variants of the same occurrence regard 16:9, 10 as editorial harmonizing of the stories. Similar also are 9:32-34 and 12:22-24 (the charge that by the prince of the demons he casts out demons).

Noticeable discontinuities are found in places. Thus at 12:43 there is an abrupt transition from the reference to the queen of the south rising to condemn that generation at the judgment to the later condition of the unclean spirit after gathering seven other spirits to himself. Similarly the account of the crossing of the Sea of Galilee in 8:18, 23, ff., is interrupted by the statement regarding the man who said he would follow Jesus wherever he went, and the one who asked to bury his father first. Again in 10:1 ff. the account of the sending forth of the twelve disciples is interrupted by the list of their names, in which they are called apostles.

Mark shows similar signs of discontinuity, as, for example, in chapter 4, where the parables regarding the Kingdom of God have inserted among them verses 21-25 about hiding one's light; or 9:49, where the saying, "every one shall be salted with fire," etc., follows

the discussion of the removal of offending organs; or 14: 1-10, where the machinations of the chief priests and scribes for the capture of Jesus seems interrupted by the story of the anointing at Bethany.

Mark also shows apparent duplication. Thus the events of chapters seven (7: 32 ff.) and eight seem to be a briefer and simpler account of chapters 6: 32-7: 24 (the feeding of a multitude, dispute with the Pharisees, then a cure).

But the most noticeable feature of the text of Mark is the break in chapter 16 at verse 8. It is so noticeable that the latest translation leaves a space before verse nine. A footnote also states that the two oldest manuscripts and some other authorities omit verses 9-20; and others have a different ending to the gospel. It seems quite clear that the work did not originally end as it now does. The stop at verse eight seems too abrupt to be the original ending. Either the original final verses were torn from the earliest manuscript, or for some reason an account from a different source was substituted for them. At any rate the narrative is discontinuous at this point.

The Gospel of Luke seems to be from a single hand, but it shows peculiarities in composition. In the use of words the author follows the Septuagint version of the Old Testament. But in the initial chapters of the Gospel there are expressions reflecting Hebrew influences and archaisms, as if he were translating or at least depending upon Hebrew writings as his sources. His spelling of the name Jerusalem follows the Hebrew rather than the usual Greek spelling. The use of the word "Lord" characterizes Luke as it does not the other Gospels (as in 7: 13; 10: 1; 11: 39; etc.). In at least

one place the order of the narrative is irregular: Thus in 4:23 occurs the phrase "whatsoever we have heard done in Capernaum, do also here," but up to this point no account has been given of anything done at Capernaum.

However, the character of the first three Gospels is best appreciated by a comparative study of them. It has been calculated that 93 per cent. of the material in Mark is contained in the other Gospels, but the order of arrangement of material is not always exactly the same in detail, and additional material not in Mark is included in the other books although the general order of events is the same in Matthew, Mark, and Luke (and this is quite different from that of John). This seems to indicate either that two of the Gospels were dependent upon the third or that all three were dependent upon the same earlier source of information. The selection of large sections of material in the same order, and largely in the same words, indicates a closer connection than merely different views of the same facts. Not only are the same thoughts and order found, but similar peculiarities in the Greek words used; e. g., the word translated, "shall be taken away," in Matthew 9:15, Mark 2:20, and Luke 5:35; likewise the word "hard" or "hardly" in Matthew 19:23, Mark 10:23, and Luke 18:24.

The material common to Matthew and Luke, but not found in Mark, consists chiefly of utterances of Jesus. Of this it has been calculated that about six-sevenths of Matthew's material has its parallel in Luke, much of it being almost verbally identical, as for example, Mat. 3:7-10, 12, and Luke 3:7-9, 17; Mat. 4:2-11, and Luke 4:2-13; Mat. 6:25-34, and Luke 12:

22-31, etc. Yet where the two have parallel versions of the discourses, of Jesus they do not place them always in the same setting. Thus the material which Matthew puts together as the sermon on the mount Luke divides and places in different settings: cf. Mat. 5:3-12 and Luke 6:20-23; Mat. 5:13 and Luke 14:34; Mat. 5:15 and Luke 8:16, etc. Cf. also Mat. 22:1-14 and Luke 14:15-24; Mat. 18:12-14 and Luke 15:3-7, etc.

The conclusion to which many students of the subject have come is that the similarities in the order of events in the first three Gospels is too great to warrant belief in their independence. And as Mark's narrative gives the common material and fundamental order of events, it is believed to be the basis of the narratives of Matthew and Luke. The similarity of the discourse material in content, but the variety of its setting leads to the view that Matthew and Luke were drawing from a collection of sayings of Jesus which had little narrative material included. Mark's Gospel is then apparently the earliest of the three and was used by the other two. Matthew and Luke draw from a second common source, though each has additional sources of his own. All three of them, however, are dependent upon still earlier accounts, oral or written, which have not come down to us. Their dependence largely upon the same sources gives the similarities in their statements and leads to the "synoptic" view so characteristic of them. (Synoptic=taking the same view.)

Aside from differences in sequence of events as compared with the synoptics the Gospel according to John shows two obvious complexities in the text. The story of the woman taken in adultery (7:53 to 8:11) is not found in most of the ancient authorities, and those which

do contain it vary a good deal from each other. The story interrupts the sequences of the text of John, and seems more like the material of Luke; as for example, the story of the sinful woman forgiven (7:36-50). The book also has two endings. It comes to a close naturally at 20:30, 31: "Many other signs therefore did Jesus in the presence of the disciples, which are not written in this book: but these are written, that ye may believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God; and that believing ye may have life in his name." However, the narrative is then continued with the story of the appearance beside the sea, and the verse (21:24): "This is the disciple that beareth witness of these things, and wrote these things; and we know that his witness is true," words which are hardly fitting from the pen of John himself.

The most notable complexity of the Book of Acts consists in the passages written in the first person; chapter 16: 10-18; 20: 5-17; 21: 1-18; 27: 1-28: 16. The rest of the work is written in the third person; and no effort is made to effect a transition from the one to the other. At the point where the first use of a "we" passage occurs it is introduced suddenly. 16: 8-10 says, "And passing by Mysia, they came down to Troas. And a vision appeared to Paul in the night. There was a man of Macedonia standing, beseeching him, and saying, Come over into Macedonia and help us. And when he had seen the vision, straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia, concluding that God had called us to preach the gospel unto them." In the other passages also it appears suddenly. If the entire work sustained the first person we should believe that we had the personal record of a companion and eyewit-

ness of Paul. But as it is the most we can maintain is that the writer draws in places from the diary of a companion or from his own; and that the earlier half may have come from an earlier written source.

The Epistle to the Romans is one of the most important of Paul's letters. It sets forth at length the philosophy of Christianity as Paul interprets it, and of his missionary activity. From chapter one through chapter fifteen it is a unified structure, well wrought together. In chapter sixteen, however, we have a kind of appendix, unrelated to the theoretical discussion, or to the practical injunctions of chapter fifteen. Aquila and Priscilla (16:3) are spoken of in Acts 18:2 as having come from Rome to Corinth, and in Acts 18:18, 19 as having gone with Paul to Ephesus. In Acts 18:24-26 they instruct Apollos in a better interpretation of Christian doctrine than he had previously known. In I Cor. 16:19 and II Tim. 4:19, also, Aquila and Priscilla seem to be in Ephesus. Epaenetus (Rom. 16:5) is spoken of as the first fruits of *Asia*. And the entire group is well known to Paul ("Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen and fellow-prisoners," vs. 7; "Urbanus, our fellow-worker in Christ," vs. 9; "Rufus, the chosen of the Lord, and his mother and mine," vs. 13.) Paul wrote the letter to Rome before he had gone thither himself, and if these references are to conditions in Rome, the entire group must have migrated from a region known to Paul to the capital. Rather, it seems more likely that we have in this chapter a fragment of a letter to Ephesus, which by some accident of literary history has become appended to the letter to the Romans, and the greater part of which is lost.

16:22 throws light upon the manner of composition

of Paul's letters. That he made use of secretaries is evident from this verse: "I, Tertius, who write the epistle, salute you in the Lord." This practice may help in explaining differences of phraseology which occur in certain letters, and which has led some critics to question their authenticity. The study of the details of these differences has to be made in the original text, since the English translation often uses the same word or phrase for two different expressions in the original.

In I Corinthians 5:9 Paul says, "I wrote unto you in my epistle to have no company with fornicators," etc. But inasmuch as this is I Corinthians in which he writes and up to this point he has said nothing to this effect, we wonder to what letter he is making reference. It appears that he has written a letter which has not come down to us. In this position the question would remain were it not for certain phenomena observed in connection with II Corinthians. At II Corinthians, 6:14 we find a sudden transition in thought, from an expression of heartfelt interest in the members of the Corinthian Church to the admonition to avoid association with unbelievers. This continues through 7:1, then at 7:2 the thought returns to that of 6:13. If we pass directly from 6:13 to 7:2, omitting 6:14-7:1, we find the thought continuous; we do not sense the omission of 6:14 to 7:1. It has been suggested, therefore, and this seems reasonable, that the earlier letter to which Paul referred became torn and most of it lost or destroyed, only this one fragment being left, and that some later copyist accidentally included it in the manuscript at its present position. If this is the true explanation then we do possess a fragment of that earlier letter, though in a place in which it does not belong.

Chronologically this fragment comes before our I Corinthians, and the latter is really a second (at least) letter from Paul to that Church.

Another feature of the letters to the Corinthians, which long puzzled students, and which has been much discussed, is the break in thought and the altered tone of writing in II Corinthians at Chapter 10. The first nine chapters (omitting 6:14-7:1) express the joy of Paul at favorable news brought to him by Titus (7:4, 6). Apparently some crisis which troubled Paul has safely passed. But in chapters 10-13 there is a spirit of denunciation of certain persons who have questioned Paul's authority as an apostle, have opposed his preaching and his influence, and against whom Paul feels it necessary to vindicate himself. That the second part should belong to the same letter as the first seems incredible. There have been many attempts to account for the situation, but perhaps the most plausible is that we have two independent letters which have been placed in wrong chronological order. If we change them around we may take them as representing a crisis with which Paul was dealing, and dealing with quite vigorous expression, but which passed away in a manner very gratifying to Paul, his feeling of satisfaction being represented by the first part of the letter.

The whole situation between Paul and the Corinthian Church becomes more intelligible in the light of this rearrangement of the parts of the letter.

The result is that we must regard II Corinthians as really made up of at least parts of three different letters of Paul which have become disarranged in the course of transmission. Instead of knowing the content of

two letters written by Paul to the church at Corinth we know something of the content of four such letters.

It is true that there have been many students of the matter who have insisted that the traditional interpretations are correct, and that the apparent breaks and disconnections are due to changes of topic. But the theories and hypotheses which they bring forth are much more forced and unnatural than these which we formulate when we make use of the same historical canons as those employed in other historical fields.

In I Cor. 16:21 we have an expression which throws further light upon Paul's method of composition. To the letter actually written in the hand of a secretary he adds a note of authentication in his own, a practice indicated at the close of several letters.

The Book of Galatians presents no major problems of text structure. There are variants at numerous points in the texts in the readings of the manuscripts. But in general the thought is continuous and the structure a unit.

Ephesians presents the problem whether it is a letter to the church at Ephesus or not. In some of the best ancient authorities the phrase "at Ephesus" is omitted from 1:1, a thing which must be considered in the light of the further fact that in the earliest list of canonical books extant the letter is entitled "to the Laodiceans." In 1:15, "having heard of the faith which is among you," and 4:21, "if so be that ye heard him," Paul seems to be writing to people whose status is not thoroughly familiar to him at first hand, a situation which was not true of Ephesus where he had spent much time, and where he had had some of his most exciting experiences. Laodicea seems not to have been on any

of the itineraries of Paul; if he is writing to this church it is natural that the tone of the letter and its contents should be less specific in detail. In Colossians 4:16 there is reference to a letter from Laodicea, and it seems that Laodicea and Colossae are to exchange letters. It is now widely held that the three letters to the "Ephesians," to the Colossians and Philemon constitute a cycle, written at the same time, to be carried by the same messenger, Tychicus (Eph. 6:21), the first being very general in character, the second directed to a specific church, the third to a specific individual. At least it can only with difficulty be held that our letter "Ephesians" was really addressed to the church at Ephesus.

Philippians shows the peculiarity of having two endings. 3:1 begins, "Finally, my brethren"; and likewise 4:8. In so short a letter it hardly seems possible for the writer to have forgotten the first ending when he wrote the second, and such an expression, if intelligible in an oral address could easily have been eliminated in a written discourse. In chapters 2 and 3 we have two independent doctrinal sections, each followed by a section of more personal details. This suggests very strongly the existence of two separate letters. Perhaps 3:1-4:8 belongs before the rest of the book, and represents a problem which had cleared away when the rest was written.

Colossians, like Romans and "Ephesians," seems to have been written to a church not personally known to Paul, as indicated in 1:4, "having heard of your faith," and 7, "even as ye learned of Epaphras our beloved fellow servant, . . . who also declared unto us your love in the Spirit." See also 1:9, 1:23, and 2:1.

The text has become confused in places in the original, especially in chapter 2, but as a whole the work is a unit and from Paul.

I Thessalonians presents no special problems. It seems to be a unit, and one of the earliest of the extant letters of Paul.

II Thessalonians has given rise to question regarding its authenticity on the ground that the thought (cf. chapter 2) is not consistent with that of I. Thess. (cf. chapter 4) and that the vocabulary and style are not the same. In answer to such considerations it has been maintained that II Thessalonians had to soften down an over-enthusiasm caused by I Thessalonians, and that the difference of style is due to a different secretary.

I Timothy shows abrupt transitions in thought. Thus 1:12-17, expressing thanksgiving for the trust committed to him, interrupts the thought of 3-11 and 18-20, giving charge to Timothy regarding his work. A similar interruption occurs at 6:11-16. 5:23-25, on Timothy's diet, seems disconnected from the adjacent text. Why detailed instructions from Paul as to church discipline should be needed by Timothy is not easy to see, especially since Paul hopes to come to him shortly (3:14). The conclusion to which many students of the matter have come is that in I Timothy we have part of a letter of Paul to Timothy which has been supplemented by material from a later date when the organization of the church was more established.

II Timothy is in a similar state. Interruptions of thought (cf. 1:15-18, 2:20-26) occur, and incongruities, 4:10-18, incompatible with 4:7, 8, where Paul is about to meet death.

In Titus it is hard to understand why Paul, who had been in Crete too short a time to organize the church, should give instructions to Titus; then summon him to himself (3:12). References to an established doctrine (1:9; 2:10), indicate relatively late date. Thus Titus is also believed to be a composite of Pauline and later writing.

Philemon is a genuine personal note from Paul in prison at Rome, to Philemon at Colossae, on occasion of the return of Onesimus, a runaway slave of Philemon's, who has been with Paul at Rome.

Hebrews begins abruptly without introduction. This is foreign to Paul's custom, though it may have been lost in transmission. Other features, however, also indicate that Paul can hardly have been the author. Thus in 2:3 the writer classes himself with a later generation of Christians, to whom salvation was confirmed "by them that heard." The vocabulary and style as they occur in the original differ from those of Paul, and in the quotations the Septuagint version is followed, a thing which Paul did not do. This indicates that the writer was a Greek rather than a Jew. In 13:5 he quotes the Old Testament in a form found only in one of the works of the Jewish-Greek philosopher, Philo, of Alexandria. The book is judged to be by an unknown writer familiar with the philosophy of Alexandria, and also with the writings of Paul (cf. 10:30 and Rom. 12:19; Heb. 11:11, 12 and Rom. 4:17-21; Heb. 5:14, and I Cor. 2:6), who interprets Christianity from this standpoint, writing perhaps to a church at Rome, as suggested by 13:24, "The brethren from Italy greet you."

The Book of James, while it has an introduction

with the appearance of a letter, is not really a letter in character, but a discourse, or succession of discourses. And it does not close in the manner of a letter. It is written in excellent Greek style, not marked by Hebraisms, and contains figures of speech nowhere paralleled in Jewish literature (1:17 and 3:6). We ask, of course, which James is referred to in 1:1, as there were at least three men of this name mentioned in the New Testament: the brother of John, "James the Less," and the brother of the Lord (Mark 6:3, Acts 12:17, 21:18; Gal. 1:19, 2:9). The brother of John was killed by Herod at an early date (Acts 12:2), estimated in the light of statements by Josephus, at about 44 A. D. James, the Lord's brother, was the pillar of the church at Jerusalem. Hence it is believed that he is the one suggested as the writer of the Book of James. But the work seems acquainted with the thinking of both Paul and the writer of Hebrews (cf. Jas. 1:2, 3 and Rom. 5:3, 4; 1:18 and Rom. 8:23; 1:22 and Rom. 2:13; Jas. 2:17, 20, 26 and Heb. 6:1, 9:14, etc.). But as James had been killed in 62 (?),[1] it seems to be from a later hand, one concerned with correcting a possible misinterpretation of Romans and Hebrews.

The book entitled I Peter is very similar to Paul's writings in spirit and in style. 1:3, ff. would certainly be ascribed to Paul if it were not preceded by the superscription 1:1, 2. 2:5 repeats the thought of Rom. 12:1. 2:6-8 quote Is. 28:16 with the same variation as Rom. 9:33. 2:13 restates Rom. 13:1-7, with the same order of thought. It is written to churches in the provinces of Pontus, Galatia, etc., at a time of violent persecution, (cf. ch. 4:12, ff.) 2:13-17 suggests Roman authorities.

[1]Josephus, *Antiquities*, XX, IX, 1.

5:13, "She (*i. e.*, the church) that is in Babylon (*i. e.* Rome) saluteth you," indicates the place of writing. There is no indication that 1:1, 2 was written by a different hand from that of the rest of the book. The solution of the problems regarding authorship and date is found by many in 5:12, which indicates that it was written for Peter by Silvanus, who had been associated for some time with Paul and had absorbed many of his ideas, during the persecution by Nero, in anticipation of possible extension of the persecution to the provinces (or possibly in the reign of Domitian).

II Peter is an elaboration of the same material as in Jude (cf. II Peter 2 and Jude 3-16). It refers to Paul's writings as Scriptures (3:15, 16), an indication of a relatively late date. The purpose of the author is to counteract the effect of the deaths of Paul and Peter before the second Advent (cf. 1:14). He follows a custom later much more common of writing under the name of an apostle.

I, II and III John are literary units. Jude, likewise.

Certain features of Revelation indicate that it contains material drawn from different sources and formulated at different times. Thus 7:1-8 seems discontinuous with 7:9-17. In the former the saved are from the tribes of Israel. In the latter they are from all tribes and peoples. In 7:1-8 the number 144,000 is the number of those saved from the tribes of Israel; in 14:1 ff. it is the number of the attendants of the Lamb, gathered from the whole earth. Also 10:1-10, 11:1-3 interrupt the sequence of thought. A new beginning is made at 12:1. The contest suggested in 13:7 seems to appear again in 19:19.

Yet the materials have been thoroughly worked together by a single editor as indicated by comparing the following: 2:7 with 22:2 (with reference to the tree of life); 3:12 and 14:1 (those marked by the name of God), 3:21 and 20:4 (sitting upon thrones), etc.

Thus, the situation regarding the documents of the New Testament is similar to that of the Old. Some are literary units. Some are compilations derived from various sources but worked into a relative unity by a single editorial hand. Others are composite, being, as they now stand, made up of sections of independent works which have no connection with each other.

X

INTERNAL EVIDENCES OF AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

References to historical events are of interest in the New Testament for the light they throw upon the dates of the writings, that we may know how nearly contemporary they are with the events narrated.

That some time passed between the events and the accounts as we now have them is indicated here and there; as in the passage in Matthew 27: 8, where, telling of the disposition of the money which Judas Iscariot returned to the priests and elders after betraying Jesus, it says, "they took counsel, and bought with them the potter's field, to bury strangers in. Wherefore that field was called, The field of blood, unto this day." The phrase "unto this day" indicates that the account is written some time after the event, though how long exactly is not indicated. The same phrase occurs again in Matthew 28: 15, in connection with the narrative of the bribing of the soldiers to say that some of the disciples of Jesus had come by night and stolen his body away while they slept.

Just how great this interval of time was it is very difficult to say. Statements in the early writings of the Church vary, from 41 A. D. to 67 A. D., and there is no clear indication in the book itself. The absence of any reference in the epistles of Paul to any of our Gospels

seems to indicate that the epistles were written first. The fact that practically all of Mark is included in Matthew suggests that the editor of Matthew was acquainted with the former. This, therefore, suggests a relative temporal sequence, though not an absolute date. 22:6, 7, inserts a statement about the destruction of a city which is not included in Luke's version, and is taken by many as a reference to the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A. D. 21:43 also is taken by many as referring to the final disaster to the nation. It is not found in Mark. 24:15 is also taken as referring to the presence of Roman armies in Jerusalem. Matthew does not explain Jewish customs; so presumably it was written in a Jewish region, probably Palestine. Papias says Matthew made a collection of the Sayings of Jesus, in the Hebrew or Aramaic language; which would also indicate that the work was composed in a Jewish country.

The situation is similar in the case of Mark. There are no explicit references to historical events. The epistles of Paul do not seem to presuppose it. The references to the destruction of the city in 13:2 and 13:14 ff. seem to indicate that this event was fresh in the mind of the writer, although the omission of the word "immediately" from 13:24, as compared with Mat. 24:29, is taken by some to mean that at least a year has elapsed since the fall of Jerusalem.

An early tradition says that the Gospel of Mark was written in Rome, a view which seems to be borne out by the language of the book, for in several instances the words used are Latin words spelled in Greek letters. Thus the word "centurion" in Mark in the original text stands in the Latin, not in the Greek form. Simi-

larly the word "bed" in 2: 4, 9 is a Latin word spelled in Greek letters. Mark's practice of explaining Jewish customs, as in 7: 3, 4, also, indicates that it is written for people outside of Palestine, for there the Jewish customs would be familiar.

Luke (1: 1-4) admits that his account is later than others. But, again, how great an interval has occurred between the events recorded and his own statement is not clearly indicated by anything in the text. His adherence to the same plan as that of Mark indicates knowledge of Mark's record. A number of similarities of Luke's statements to statements of the Jewish historian Josephus (e. g. Luke 3: 1-2 and Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews,* xx, 7,) regarding the distribution of the tetrarchies, although Luke seems to have partly misinterpreted the situation, have led to the view that Luke's gospel derives part of its information from Josephus, and as the *Antiquities* comes from about 93 A. D., the Gospel according to Luke cannot be earlier.

The relative positions in time would be then: Mark, Matthew, Luke. The absolute dates approximately 75, 85, and 95 A. D.

The Gospel according to John, 19: 35, seems to claim that it has the statement of a still living eye-witness (not the writer himself). The break between chapters 20 and 21 indicates a further editing of the story by the writer of the last chapter. Thus the account as we have it seems to be a third hand one, by a writer who was dependent upon another writer who had based his account on the witness of the Apostle John. This alone gives a presumption that the book was written some time after the events. And to this must be added the indications that the Gospel of Luke was known to the writer

(cf. for example, John 11:2 and Luke 7:38, as contrasted with the version of Matthew 26:7 and Mark 14:3). (See also John 1:19-27 and Luke 3:15, 16, as contrasted with Matthew 3:10, 11; also John 13:38 and Luke 22:34, vs. Matthew 25:30-34 and Mark 14:26-30). This would make the date of final composition of John as late as the end of the first century. It is marked by the ideas (e. g., the Logos Doctrine of 1:1) characteristic of the philosophers of Ephesus, which bears out early traditions of John's residence there.

Acts is a sequel to a former treatise (1:1), and as both it and Luke's Gospel are addressed to Theophilus (Luke 1:3) the latter must be that preceding work. Its date, therefore, is at least as late as that of the Gospel of Luke, i. e., 95 A. D. Thorough acquaintance with affairs in Palestine indicate authorship in or near that region.

The Book of Romans, ch. 1-15, is written at a time after Paul has preached his message throughout the regions farther east (cf. 15:19 and 23). He is looking forward to a journey by way of Rome (1:15; 15:25) into Spain (15:24). The relative date is thus set after his letters to the Thessalonians, Corinthians, and Galatians. It is earlier than Acts, which carries the account of Paul's work down to two years after he landed in Rome. And since 15:25, ff. states that the writer is on his way to Jerusalem "ministering to the saints," this is believed to be a reference to the offering which had been gathered in the churches of Greece, and mentioned in I Corinthians 16. It is commonly held, therefore, that the letter to the Romans was written during the third missionary journey, shortly after the letters to the Corinthians, and probably from Corinth.

The sixteenth chapter of Romans, if directed to Ephesus, comes from a time after Paul's work there as described in Acts 19, 20. It recommends Phoebe, of the Church at Cenchreae, near Corinth, and as it is from Corinth that the letter to the Romans is believed to have been written, the sixteenth chapter may very probably have been written about the same time and sent to Ephesus (as is indicated by the occurrence of names of the persons who had been associated with the work at Ephesus).

The analysis of the text of the letters to the Corinthians (see preceding chapter) led us to the view that they contain at least parts of four different letters. The relative temporal sequence would be II Corinthians, 6:14-7:1; I Corinthians; II Corinthians 10:1-13:10; and II Corinthans 1-6:13, 7:2-9. I Corinthians 16:8 indicates that Paul is at Ephesus when he writes. He is planning the collection of an offering from the churches in Galatia, Macedonia and Corinth (I. Cor. 16:1-8) which he will take to Jerusalem. It must be at the time indicated in Acts 18:19 ff. II Corinthians 6:14-7:1 was then probably written from the same place a short time before. The time in general is suggested by Acts 18:12, as "when Gallio was proconsul of Asia." This was about 51 or 52, according to an inscription discovered near Delphi. II Corinthians 10:16 suggests that Paul is to the east of Corinth, when he expresses the hope of going to parts beyond Corinth, and, therefore, may well be still at Ephesus. II Corinthians 2:12, 13 and 7:5-7 suggest that Paul has in the meantime gone around to Macedonia.

Galatians has nothing in it to indicate with any definiteness its date. Its statement in 1:6, "I marvel that

ye are so quickly removing from him that called you in the grace of Christ," has led some to hold that it is one of the earliest of Paul's letters, written from Corinth soon after Paul's first arrival there. On the other hand, the prominence of the problem of opposing teachers has been regarded as indicating a later date. Its similarity in content and line of argument to Romans has led most authorities to place it at Corinth or Ephesus about the same date as Romans.

The letter to the "Ephesians" has commonly been regarded as written after Paul had been taken to Rome as a prisoner. 3:1, "I Paul, the prisoner of Christ Jesus in behalf of you Gentiles," and 4:1, "I therefore the prisoner in the Lord," are consistent with this interpretation, though they would be applicable to any time after his last visit to Jerusalem. The fact that the letter was to be carried by Tychicus (6:21), who was also the bearer of Colossians (Colossians 4:7), is evidence that it was written from Rome if the evidence for the writing of the letters to the Colossians from Rome is convincing. If the letter was really written to Laodicea it must be earlier than 60 A. D., for we should expect some reference to the disastrous earthquake mentioned by Tacitus as having occurred in that year. This would suggest about 58 A. D. as the approximate date of the letter.

Philippians also is said by tradition to have been written from Rome, as suggested also by 1:13, the reference to the prætorian guard, and his bonds (1:14), by the reference in 4:22, "they that are of Cæsar's household," and also by the prospect of death presented in 1:20-24. It seems as if Paul is uncertain whether he is to live much longer or not, or even whether he

wishes to. 2:23, also, "so soon as I shall see how it will go with me," suggests the same thought. In that case the letter to the Philippians is one of the last of Paul's letters. The reference in 1:1 to bishops and deacons would seem to indicate a period in the life of the church at Philippi when organization has become developed and the terms used refer to certain ranks of officials not known in the very early days of the church's establishment. If 3:1-4:7 is a separate letter it may have been written about the same time, possibly a little before, and, therefore, have been confused with the other letters. The prospect of death does not seem to be immediate in this passage.

Colossians, like "Ephesians," is written in the days of Paul's imprisonment. (Cf. 4:10, "Aristarchus, my fellow-prisoner saluteth you"; also 4:18, "Remember my bonds"). It was to be carried by Tychicus, the bearer of the letter to the "Ephesians" (cf. Col. 4:7), and was very likely carried at the same time. The problem of Paul's fate is not so pressing as in Philippians. The time of writing is somewhat earlier, though it is among the last of Paul's writings.

The occasion of the writing of I Thessalonians is suggested in 3:6. Timothy has just come with news from the church at Thessalonica, and as it is good news, Paul expresses his joy in his letter. According to Acts 17 and 18 Paul went on down through Greece to Athens and Corinth after leaving Thessalonica. Hence the letter must have been written from one of these cities. According to Acts Paul made two trips through Greece (Acts 17:18; and 20:2, 3). But it is not clear that he went as far south as Athens and Corinth the second time. The letter may, therefore, be dated at the

time of the first visit to "Achaia." This would place the letter much earlier than some of the letters which now stand before it in the modern Bible.

II Thessalonians seems to supplement the first letter and to give instruction on certain points which were apparently misinterpreted in the first. In I Thessalonians 4:13, ff. the burning question had been about the fate of those Christians who had died before the Advent. In II Thessalonians, 3:6-12, there are evidently some who have taken the expectation of the early occurrence of the Advent as the basis for disorderliness and idleness. The letter is sent to correct this. It seems, therefore, that the second letter must have been sent soon after the first, and from the same place in Greece.

The problems which arose in connection with the integrity of the text of I Timothy bear also upon the question of the date of its composition. Chapter I has many marks of Pauline authorship and fits well into the general life of Paul. That he should hand over his trust to Timothy when he is no longer able to visit the churches seems natural. But why should Paul have written instructions regarding church organization to Timothy, who had been associated with him for a long time in his work; and especially since he hoped to see Timothy shortly (I Timothy, 3:14)? If the instructions are for the appointment of officials at Ephesus (cf. I Timothy, 1:3) Paul would be expected to be so familiar with the field that he could give more specific suggestions regarding persons; for it was a field in which he had worked for some time (cf. Acts 18, 19). The time of composition is late enough for the development of the offices and ranks of *bishop,*

deacon, elder, widows, etc. The *doctrine* of the church (cf. 6:1) has become possessed of an established form, and opposing doctrines "the knowledge which is falsely so called" is apparently a technical body of belief. All these are marks of a date later than the life of Paul. But since the work was known in the second decade of the second century, it must have been composed about 100 A. D. in a Pauline style and spirit and around Pauline material, as a formulation of the policy of the church.

II Timothy has some features similar to I Timothy, the appeal to guard what had been committed to him (1:14), and the injunction to carry on the work of Paul (2:1-13). 4:9-21 has many circumstantial details which seem to reflect the hand of Paul himself. Yet it has always been a problem to determine where they fit best into his life. The request for the cloak left at Troas, the books and parchments, does not fit into what seem to be final instructions to Timothy for carrying on the work after Paul has gone. 1:16, 17 places the scene in Rome. 4:6, 7 suggests the very last hours of Paul's life. Further, the instructions of 2:21, ff. do not seem to be of the sort that Timothy would need, especially at this late time in his association with Paul. Numerous phrases used are not characteristic of Paul: "follow after righteousness" (2:22); "follow my teaching" (3:10); "the sound doctrine" (4:3), etc. It seems, therefore, that materials from two different periods of Paul's life (4:9-18, 20, 21, when he was in Macedonia; and 1, 2, 3, 4, at the close of his life) have been recast in a still later form by the hand that produced I Timothy.

Titus is in the same class with I, II Timothy. 1:3

regards Paul as entrusted with a charge; Titus is given instructions regarding the organization of the church in Crete. But 3:12, with its reference to wintering at Nicopolis, is not easily placed in the life of Paul. It might have been written shortly before II Corinthians, at Ephesus. But if Paul had not been in Crete long enough to appoint officials, how can he give instructions to Titus? And if Titus is shortly to see him personally (3:12), why should Paul give him written instructions? And why should he accuse the Cretans of being always liars, beasts and idle gluttons if there is a church there? (1:12). The "sound doctrine" is referred to in 1:9 and 2:1, and "the doctrine" in 2:10, giving thus the touch of a later time when the teaching of the Church has become more fixed and definitely formulated. It, too, must be regarded as put into its present from at a late date, even if incorporating some materials from the actual work of Paul.

In Philemon we have another of the products of Paul's days as prisoner (1:1). The references to Onesimus (vs. 10) and Epaphras (vs. 23) bring this letter into touch with Colossians (4:9, 12). It is commonly believed to have been carried by Tychicus along with the letters to the "Ephesians" and Colossians, the three making a series, the first being a general letter to all Christians in the region, the second to a particular church, the third to an individual friend of Paul's. It, like the other two, then, is from an earlier period than Philippians and II Timothy, before Paul's case is desperate. Note how in Philemon, vs. 22, Paul hopes through the prayers of his friend to be delivered from bondage.

The dating of Hebrews rests essentially upon the

same verse (2:3), which gives the basis for judgment of authorship. The verse sets the time of the writer in a generation succeeding the immediate hearers of the Lord. It would seem natural for the writer to have seized upon the destruction of Jerusalem as confirming his thesis that the priesthood of the temple had given way to one of a higher type. But there is no reference to this event. It must have occurred at a distance so remote, either in space or in time, as to have lost point. Knowledge of the book by Clement of Rome at the end of the first century shows that it was in existence before the century was past. Combining the considerations of its removal from contemporary witnesses by a generation, its failure to refer to the destruction of Jerusalem, and its recognition by Clement, the date must be approximately 80-85 A. D.

The Book of James follows the writings of Paul, which seem to have been known to the author (cf. James 1:2, 3, and Romans 5:3, 4; James 1:18, and Romans 8:23, etc.). Furthermore, since the ideas of the book of Hebrews also seem to be familiar to the author (cf. James 2:17, 20, 26, and Hebrews 6:1, 9:14, etc.), it must, like the latter, have been written at the close of the first century. In that case the superscription to the letter would have to be regarded as a mistaken prefix to the work, due to an incorrect inference on the part of an early editor. James, "the brother of the Lord" (Gal. 1:19), who was the head of the church at Jerusalem (cf. Gal. 1:18, Acts 15:13), met death about 62 or 63 A. D., according to Josephus and Eusebius. To hold him to be the writer of the letter would put it too early to make the apparent acquaintance with Hebrews intelligible. The relation of dependence between

the two cannot be reversed, for Paul denies his dependence upon the instruction of any man (Gal. 1:12, 17). If 2:2 refers to a specific synagogue it may be the same "Synagogue of the Jews" to which Hebrews was directed, and at a little later time.

The writing of such a letter as I Peter, by Peter, to the regions of Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, etc., which had been the region of Paul's activity, seems to imply that Paul is dead. Paul is not mentioned, though both Silvanus and Mark are; and both these men had been associated with Paul in parts of his work. It is a time of ordeal and persecution to the church, as indicated by 4:12 ("concerning the fiery trial among you"); 4:16 ("if a man suffer as a Christian, let him not be ashamed"), and in 5:8, the adversary, "the devil," is going about as a roaring lion. "She that is in Babylon" (5:13) can only mean the Christian church which is in Rome. Similarities of expressions in the letter to those which occur in the writings of Paul may be due to the actual writing of the letter by Silvanus (cf. 5:12), who had a thorough acquaintance with Pauline theory.

One fundamental difficulty in dating the letter is the interest of the churches in the Roman provinces in a persecution. So far as indicated by historical sources from this period such persecutions outside of Rome did not occur until the reign of Domitian (81-96 A. D.). But all tradition says that Peter was martyred by Nero (54-68). It may well be, however, that the writer of the letter is contemplating possible developments, and preparing even those in the provinces for the worst that may come; and in that case we may accept the author as being Peter himself, as tradition has always

held, and the time of writing as the late years of Nero's reign.

The case for II Peter, however, is not so well established. It is apparently an enlarged form of the letter of Jude, for it contains essentially all the material of the latter, with other matters added. The tendency to expand with the passing of time is due to contemplation and meditation upon earlier works. The purpose of the letter is primarily to meet the questionings of those who ask, "Where is the promise of his coming?" (3:4). This itself indicates a late date. It shows that such a length of time has passed since the first eager expectation of the Advent that to many minds the delay is proving a difficulty. The spirit of the letter is very different from that of I Peter. It obtrudes the personality of Peter (cf. 1:12-14, 18; 3:1) as the former suppressed it. It comes from a time when Paul's epistles have come to be regarded as Scripture along with "the other scriptures" (3:16). It refers to the former epistle (1:1), yet says nothing of persecution, which was the central thought of the former. These considerations, together with the fact that the letter receives notice in early literature only in the third century and later, have led to the conclusion that it is from a later hand some time in the second century A. D. It is written under the name of Peter after a custom much followed in that day, as we see in many apocryphal writings, "the gospel of Peter," "apocalypse of Peter," etc.

Similarity of style and thought indicate that the three letters, I, II, III John, are from the same writer. Consider, for example, the emphasis upon *the truth* and *love* in I John 1:6, 8; 2:10; 4:7, etc.; II John vs. 1, 5, 7, etc.; III John vs. 1, 3, 6. They were written by

"the elder," whom tradition has identified with the Apostle John. The similarity of thought and style with the Gospel of John (cf. I John 5:6 and John 3:5), identify the writers. But we saw that the writer of the Gospel refers to him who bears witness to these things as a person other than himself (John 19:35). If this witness is the Apostle John, then the writer is not he, and if the writer of the letters is identical with the writer of the Gospel, the writer of the letters is not John the apostle, but some associate of his. The occasion for all four writings is a time when the truth needs re-emphasis (cf. John 8:32, I John 5:20, II John vs. 4, III John vs. 3), hence they may be regarded as coming from the same general period. Dating the Gospel at the end of the first century would involve a similar date for the letters.

Jude looks back to the past as the time when the faith was delivered once for all to the saints (vs. 3), "spoken before by the apostles of our Lord" (vs. 17). Verses 17, 18 seem to refer to I Timothy 4:1 and II Timothy 3. Hence this letter must be later than those "pastorals," *i. e.* somewhere in the second century. It is concerned with problems similar to those of interest in II Peter and in the letters of John; hence on this evidence also it is late in composition, though its absolute date is difficult to fix.

We come now to the last book of the New Testament. Its author is clearly claimed as "John" (1:1, 4, 9; 22:8). It seems without doubt the intention that the Apostle John should be understood by the reader. No other John held such place in the early church as to speak with prime authority. The fundamental question is whether this claim is substantiated. The place in which

the book was written is given as the Isle of Patmos (1:9) in the Aegean Sea, less than one hundred miles from Ephesus, where the early church fathers say John spent his last days. The time of writing is an age of persecution of Christians. Some have been beheaded (6:9; 16:6; 20:4). Babylon is doubtless Rome, as in I Peter 5:13. These considerations point to the later years of the reign of Domitian, 81-96, where tradition has always placed it.

It is evident from these facts that the present arrangement of the books of the New Testament is not chronological. It is primarily topical, with some suggestion of chronological arrangement within the group of the Gospels. The last book, Revelation, does happen to be one of the latest books in the collection. But among Paul's letters, the arrangement is apparently according to size as much as anything else, although here again it does happen that the first, Romans, is one of the most important as a presentation of Paul's interpretation of Christian doctrine. The situation shows, however, to how great a degree the historical interest has sunken into the background. The writings were used for their practical guidance in determining doctrine. The interest in a study of the genesis of the doctrine was almost nil. For practical purposes the order in which the principles had been formulated was of minor importance. But now we feel that here as elsewhere the proper appreciation of a principle often depends upon the background and the occasion upon which it came to expression.

PART FOUR—CONCLUSIONS

XI

BIBLICAL HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORICAL METHOD

The first result of our study is this: it is evident that our Bibles as now printed have lost the historical perspective. The interest which led to the present arrangement was systematic and topical, rather than historical. It drew upon history for illustrations and precedents. It sought to ground its tenets in historical occurrences. But as for a true chronological arrangement of the whole series of books, this was not its object. The very structure of the collections, especially the Old Testament, shows that the present arrangement of the material is the result of an effort to bring old material up to date at a late period. It is for this reason that the oldest stories of the Pentateuch have been re-edited by priestly students, and primitive laws hidden in later legislative accretions.

As we suggested at the start, the historical interest is largely due to the light which the historical setting throws upon stories and institutions, and the clearing up of discrepancies and incoherences which come from the recognition of juxtaposed strata of thought dealing with the same problem, but from the very different points of view which necessarily result from the passing of time and the movement of history.

The first thing we must do, then, to gain the true his-

torical perspective is discriminate those contents which are primitive from those which are more sophisticated, to regroup materials not on a topical or literary basis, but on the basis of the age in which they were produced so far as this can be determined. We can go far in arranging documents in relative chronological sequence even where we cannot determine absolute dates.

1. As It Classifies Old Testament History

In the case of the Old Testament we find that the series as rearranged would be something like this:

The primitive stories of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua, Judges;

I, II Samuel, I, II Kings, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah 1-39, Micah;

Deuteronomy 12-25;

Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Ezekiel, Lamentations;

Deuteronomic re-edition of the historical narratives and laws from Genesis through Kings;

Leviticus;

Haggai, Zechariah 1-8, Isaiah 40-66;

Obadiah, Ruth, Malachi;

Nehemiah 1-7:4;

Priestly re-edition of existing literature;

Joel, Job;

I, II Chronicles, Ezra, final edition of Nehemiah;

Jonah, Daniel 1-6;

Final edition of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Songs;

Esther, Daniel 7-12, Zechariah 9-14;

Final edition of Psalms;

The Messianic re-edition of the Prophets.

It is true there are still questions and problems connected with the arrangement of the material. But we feel confident that the sequence suggested here is a fair approximation to the true historical sequence.

What we have then in the classic collection of documents of the Old Testament is an assemblage of materials beginning back in the dim distance, transmitted for centuries by oral tradition, and reaching down through contemporary official records of the United Kingdom in the days of Solomon, through the distresses of numerous captivities, to the idealistic hopes of the Messianic prophecies of the second century B. C.

The belief that the stories of Genesis are oral traditions rests not upon the arbitrary determination of some German higher critic to demolish all that men have held sacred for centuries. Neither is it an idle hypothesis without real basis. It rests upon the recognition of the nomadic character of the life of the early Hebrew people as recorded in Genesis itself, and also upon the character of writing materials as they have come down to us from that ancient day. Then, too, the reference in Genesis 36: 31 to the kings in Israel is crucial evidence that the time when the book was put into its present form was long after the period in which the stories themselves are set. This is the important consideration which we have tried to point out and to illustrate in detail in all our study: that the results which historical study formulates are based upon *the indications of the text itself.* Internal evidence is the best evidence as to character, date, authorship, time, place, setting, etc. Internal evidence interpreted in terms of human life as we actually know it is the essential thing. Too much of traditional interpretation has been upon the basis

of what the interpreter, ill-trained in historical method, conceives would have been the ideal way for things to have happened. Deductions have too often been drawn from conceptions of the way in which it is thought a good and perfect God would have worked, instead of building up inductively a knowledge of the way in which God did actually work, and reaching conclusions therefrom as to His character and will toward men.

From the historical standpoint the Old Testament is a record of the development of the beliefs of a nation through some two thousand years, from a time of emigration from early centers of civilization through a period of flourishing national life to days of disaster and national ruin. It began with the movement represented by the migration of Terah and Abraham, bringing with them stories out of the pre-historic past, setting up settlements in the land of Canaan, making contacts with the other inhabitants, dividing and scattering as population increased, establishing customs and setting up legal precedents of a simple sort. These stories we find in those chapters of the Pentateuch in which God is thought of as a being with human form and voice, when magic was still believed in, as in the case of the determination by Jacob of the color of his sheep by artificial means, and when household gods (the teraphim which Rachel stole) were represented in wooden images. The nation is almost swallowed up in Egyptian civilization, but through the opportune leadership of a Moses its identity is saved, though it had to endure the years of wandering and struggle of the exodus. Finally, under Joshua and the Judges, it succeeds in establishing itself in the sought for land and under the spiritual guidance of Samuel it becomes a kingdom

like the surrounding nations, under the leadership of Saul, the finest physical specimen of its manhood, who stood head and shoulders above his companions (I Sam. 9:2). Under the military leadership of David the organization of the kingdom was completed, surrounding peoples subdued or kept at bay, and territory extended to the Euphrates in the northeast and to the deserts in the east, southeast and south. Solomon, during a peaceful reign, undertook great commercial and building enterprises. But the heavy taxation involved in this policy and in maintaining the splendors of the court, oppressed the people and led, at the accession of his son Rehoboam, to the revolt of ten tribes under Jeroboam I, who championed the rights of the people.

For nearly two hundred years, during which, through contact with surrounding nations, foreign religious customs were introduced, wars frequently carried on between the northern and southern kingdoms or with foreign nations, alliances sometimes made between the two branches of the Hebrew peoples, sometimes with foreign nations like Damascus, revolts on the part of subject nations endured or partially suppressed, the Hebrews lived in relative independence. Then, in the eighth century B. C., the Assyrian empire appeared upon the scene, threatening to overrun all western Asia. At this juncture appeared Amos and Hosea in the northern kingdom, interpreting the movement of history as a revelation of Jehovah's will and criticising social and religious conditions within the nation as giving ground for righteous indignation on the part of God. Isaiah, in the southern kingdom, adds words of warning to Ahaz, lives to see disaster come upon Samaria in 722, and then the invasion of Judah, with the narrow escape

of Jerusalem, when sudden disaster comes upon the army of Sennacherib (II Ki. 19:35, 36; Is. 37:36, 37). To the voice of Isaiah is added that of Micah in the last decade of the eighth century. In the seventh century the menace of Assyria dies away and Judah relapses into low ideals. But in the secrecy of the circles of the prophets Deuteronomy 12-25 is formulated as a revision of the law to meet the current needs, and a protest against the practices of the people.

About 625 inroads of Scythian tribes from the north give occasion for the preaching of Zephaniah and the early sermons of Jeremiah. About 607 the rising power of Babylon leads Nahum to rejoice over the prospect of the downfall of Nineveh; but this same Babylonian power becomes a problem to Jeremiah and Habakkuk. With the Babylonian conquest of Judah in 597 and the deportation of influential families comes the experience of Ezekiel, who is carried with the exiles to the banks of the River Chebar, from which distant place he watches and interprets the development of the final disaster in 586, memorialized in the poems of Lamentations. In the leisure of the exile the past is reinterpreted in the completion of the book of Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomic editing of the extant historical material. Before long, the eye of hope is turned toward the future, and Ezekiel (40-48) plans an ideal restoration of nation and temple, an ideal expressed also in the legislation of Leviticus. The longed-for day seemed to come with the decree of Cyrus in 538 granting local self-government to nations which had been subject to Babylonia and thereby making possible the return of the exiled Jews. Encouragement in this movement is voiced by Haggai, Zechariah 1-8, and Isaiah 40-66. In-

cidentally, a note of rejoicing in Israel over Edom in distress in compensation for her joy over the disaster of Israel is found in the Book of Obadiah. But the return was not so glorious nor so complete and successful as the prophets had hoped. Many conditions about the temple needed the criticisms which the author of Malachi utters. Nehemiah comes, in 445 B. C., to the western country and undertakes the rebuilding of the walls of the city and the reform of economic and social practice. The question of foreign marriages leads to controversy during which the Book of Ruth appears as a defense of the foreigner. The priestly influence of Ezra and his circle leads to a new re-editing of the existing literature from the legalistic standpoint of about 400 B. C. National life is still at a low ebb. Out of the years come only occasional voices, as of Joel, who sees in a plague of locusts occasion to preach again the sermon of repentance. The problem of the suffering and disaster of the nation finds classic expression in the poem of Job. Reflection upon history gives the reformulation in I, II Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Jonah presents from this late day another statement of the interest of Jehovah even in the foreigner.

Time passes. Persia is succeeded by Alexander and his followers. Persecutions occur under the rulers of Syria until life becomes almost intolerable. Only the encouragements of Daniel 1-6 keep it from being so. But still there is leisure for collecting the wisdom of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes and the love-lyrics of the Song of Songs. The longing for revenge expresses itself in the romance of Esther, and hope embodies itself in Daniel 7-12 and Zechariah 9-14. The devotional life of the people crystallizes in the Book of Psalms in its

final form and the Messianic re-editing of the prophets gives the final touch to the literature which is becoming more and more sacred with the passage of time, and by the end of the first century A. D. has become fixed in the Canon.

2. As It Affects New Testament History

The situation in the case of the New Testament is similar to that in the Old. Historical perspective has, in course of time, been lost. The accounts and interpretations of the life of Jesus as the Christ have come to possess primary importance. Hence they are grouped together at the beginning of the canonical list. Then follows the account of the founding of the early Christian churches and the spread of the gospel into the countries about the Mediterranean Sea as far west as Rome. Then follow Paul's letters, arranged not in chronological order, but rather in order of size from longest to shortest; then letters by other writers, presumably apostles, and finally the Apocalypse of John.

Again, considering the importance of historical setting for the understanding of many points, we attempt to determine from indications within the works themselves what were the conditions under which they were written, when, and by whom, the result being, as in the case of the Old Testament, that a chronological arrangement according to time of writing is noticeably different from the canonical order. It would be more like this:

I, II Thessalonians;

II Corinthians 6:14-7:1, I Corinthians, II Corinthians 10:1-13:10, II Corinthians 1:1-6, 7:2-9:15;

Galatians, Romans;

Ephesians, Colossians, Philemon, Philippians, II Timothy 1, 3;

Mark, I Peter, Hebrews, Matthew;

James, Luke, Acts;

Revelation, I, II, III John, John;

I Timothy, II Timothy 2, 4, Titus, Jude, II Peter.

New Testament history thus begins with the letters of Paul, written at a time when the eyewitnesses of the work of Jesus are still living. The setting is the activity of Paul as a missionary declaring his message to the world. In fact the first glimpse we have of him is at a time when he has long been working. He has traversed Asia Minor and Greece, and has made his way down to Corinth, one of the leading cities of that country. Encouraging news has just come from Thrace. Timothy has arrived, bringing a good report about conditions in the church at Thessalonica, although he also brings report of some matters that are troubling them as to the meaning of Paul's doctrine. In joy at the good news and in anxiety to settle their doubts, Paul writes I Thessalonians, giving assurance in particular that those who have died before the Advent will not be denied participation in it. Shortly afterwards further news came to the effect that some members of the Thessalonian church were falling into a life of idleness in the belief that the speedy coming of the Lord made the ordinary tasks of life unnecessary. Consequently Paul dispatches II Thessalonians to counsel them that since the time of the Advent is really unknown they must follow his example in diligence and self-dependence.

Upon completing his first stay at Corinth, Paul sailed across the Aegean Sea to Ephesus. There news

came from Corinth that some members of the newly founded church were not living up to high ideals. Paul sent word that upright Christians should avoid associating with these, in a letter, only a part of which has come down to us (the fragment in II Cor. 6:14-7:1). Inquiries regarding doctrine come to him by letter from Corinth along with oral reports of factions in the church. So he writes another letter (I Corinthians) discussing their questions in detail, after warning them against factional strife. Difficulties do not clear away, however. In fact the church as a whole is not very loyal to Paul. Consequently he writes them a sharp letter of rebuke (II Cor. 10-13). In time the breach between them and Paul is healed. While he is in Macedonia on his third journey, Titus brings the news, and Paul, in his joy, pens the letter II Corinthians 1:1-6:13, 7:2-9:15.

About this time word comes from the churches in Galatia that there have followed in the footsteps of Paul rival teachers who are combating Paul's interpretation of the gospel. Throughout his career there were some who were inclined to question his authority, to doubt whether he was truly an apostle. Some of these teachers have been influencing the Christians at Galatia. Paul, therefore, writes his letter to the Galatian churches to vindicate his doctrine, and gives in succinct form the essentials of his interpretation.

The next we hear of him he is in Corinth again. Now he is hoping to go into the far western regions of Spain, stopping on the way at Rome. He writes to the church at Rome an expression of this hope and a statement of his general theory of Christianity. The hope of the journey to Rome is realized later in a way not fore-

seen by Paul when he wrote this letter. He goes as a captive, not as a free man. His interest in the regions to the east is not lost, however. We read in "Ephesians," Colossians and Philemon three letters from Rome, apparently sent by the same messenger and at the same time to a region in which Paul himself had not worked. The first is a general letter to the region as a whole, the second a special letter to the church at Colossae, the third a personal note to an individual. The attitude of the emperor (Nero) becomes more and more hostile to Christians and prospects for Paul become dark. It is at a time when his own fate is uncertain that Paul writes his letter to the Philippians. And even later, at the last hour, we have in II Timothy 1, 3 his bequest of his task to Timothy.

This is the last we hear from Paul. Tradition in the early church declared that he suffered martyrdom soon after. And now a new problem faces the Church; the apostles are passing away; soon the eyewitnesses will be gone. It behooves the organization that it write down the story of these witnesses while this may be had. The first of these records is the Gospel according to Mark, written probably in Rome, as the statement essentially of the story that Peter used in his teaching. From the later years of the same persecution which brought Paul to his death we have the letter of Peter (I Peter) to the churches of Asia Minor preparing them for the trials that threaten to come upon them.

A new development meanwhile appears. The doctrine has been preached in the various centers of learning of the world, Athens, Corinth, Ephesus, Rome, Alexandria. In Alexandria it comes into contact with later Greek philosophy in its most vigorous form. It must,

therefore, argue its case, and it does so in terms that were familiar to Alexandrian philosophers, while keeping true to the spirit of the faith. An instance of this defense of the faith is found in the Book of Hebrews.

Now in Palestine, perhaps even in Jerusalem itself, the records of the life and work of Jesus are written. Matthew had already made a compilation of the "Sayings of Jesus," and these are combined with Mark's narrative, with addition of some other material into the present Gospel according to Matthew.

It is not entirely clear where the Book of James was written. But inasmuch as it was first widely used in Rome, and since it shows familiarity with Hebrews it may well come from the same region whence Hebrews came—Alexandria—and be addressed to the Roman church.

And now a third record of not only the life and works of Jesus, but also of the growth of the early church appears in the Gospel according to Luke and Acts. It takes account both of Mark's Gospel and Matthew's sayings, adding some independent material; and in Acts incorporates a part of the diary of Luke, who had been a companion of Paul on his journey to Rome.

By this time persecution is spreading throughout the Roman world. Its terrors are being felt even in the provinces of Asia. To stimulate the church to endurance, even to the end, John writes his Apocalypse, assuring the faithful of victory in the end, using a form of literature widely known among the Jews because of its earlier employment in times of persecution, especially in the days of Antiochus Epiphanes.

Rival doctrines, competing religions, are contending with the faith, especially one calling itself "Gnosis," a

higher knowledge. Against this are written the epistles of John and the Gospel, which reinterprets the life of Jesus as realizing all the hopes and promises of Greek philosophy. These are from the region of Ephesus and directed to members of a nearby church.

We are now at the end of the first century. The church is in general well established. It has its organization and its officers. Interest in the qualifications for various positions expresses itself in the letters of I Timothy, II Timothy, in its final form, and Titus, written under the name of Paul that they may not seem unauthoritative, as in the later days of the Old Testament all legislation was given forth in the name of Moses, all devotional literature under that of David and wisdom literature as of Solomon.

Next appears the letter of Jude, concerned with the problems of the churches in Asia.

Finally, II Peter, gathering up the material of Jude and resting upon I Peter, gives a final warning against the false doctrines referred to in the letters of John, and defending the doctrine of the Advent against those who mockingly ask why it does not occur.

This is well on into the second century A. D. The original witnesses have now passed on. Even the generation of associates of the apostles is also past. No more direct evidence of the historical occurrences at the founding of Christianity can occur. It is time to gather up and treasure the records that are original and apostolic, to distinguish the primary from the secondary and thus establish the authoritative guide for the Church. Hence we have the list of writings which have come down to us as our New Testament. They are not the only Gospels, epistles, apocalypses,

and acts which were written. There were Gospels of Peter, of the Hebrews, Apocalypse and Acts of Peter, etc., an Epistle of Barnabas, of Clement, etc., consequently from among the accumulating mass of writing must be singled out that which was of first rank. The earliest of such "standard" or "canonical" lists now extant is the so-called "Muratorian canon," discovered in 1740 by the Italian Muratori, and believed to date from about 175 A. D. Unfortunately it is fragmentary, beginning with an incomplete statement apparently about Mark; but it is important since it gives a list of the books accepted in the writer's time, including most of our present list, and also some of the Apocrypha. The list includes Luke, John, Acts, I, II Corinthians, Ephesians, Philippians, Colossians, Galatians, I, II Thessalonians, Romans, Philemon, Titus, I, II Timothy, Laodiceans, Alexandrians ("forged under the name of Paul"), Jude, I, II John, Wisdom ("by the friends of Solomon"), Apocalypse of John, and the Apocalypse of Peter ("though some will not have it read in the Church"), and the Shepherd (by Hermas; recommended for private reading).

We cannot help feeling that in making the selection of apostolic material there were some misjudgments. We doubt that II Peter is from Peter, or James from James. But this does not destroy their value, for when we do understand their dates and circumstances we learn the condition of the churches in the times and places of their origination. One reason for uncertainty regarding the authorship of some writings lies in the fact that when they were written neither the author nor the recipients suspected that they would be some day gathered into a sacred canon; hence they were not so

carefully preserved as they would otherwise have been. Furthermore, the vicissitudes of history in general, and especially the persecutions to which the early Christians were subjected, made the preservation of documents difficult. We are fortunate in having as many as we do.

XII

THE PLACE OF THE BIBLE IN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

The final important question which lies at the bottom of all our work is this: In the light of our study, just what is the Bible worth? We have been discussing the methods by which the historian tries to take into account all evidence, internal and external, but especially the internal, as to the time, place, authorship, and conditions under which it came into being, the way in which it came to assume its present form, and the picture of history which it gives. What effect does this have upon our estimate of the value of the Book? Is it a dependable historical record? Is it a reliable spiritual guide? Does any change in our estimate of its historical value alter our estimate of its value as a spiritual guide? Such an alteration might conceivably occur since the motive in recounting most of the events lies in the lesson that they contain. If the historical accuracy of the stories is questioned their spiritual value may seem to be thereby impeached. In particular, since the fulfilment of prophecy and the performance of miracles have been supposed to demonstrate the claims of Christianity, the conviction that there are difficult historical problems connected with these may seem to undermine the authority of the principles for which Christianity has stood. Finally, does a literalistic interpretation

prove indispensable to the Bible's usefulness and significance?

We realize as one of our first results that the Biblical narratives are for the most part not contemporary records. They are not the writings of a series of private secretaries who from the first attended all the patriarchs from Adam down to Paul. Their character is primarily contemplative, concerned with the meaning of history. As such their point of view is essentially retrospective. In the midst of the active processes of life attention is too preoccupied to appreciate the full meaning of deeds. It is only later that their significance dawns upon the witnesses, and even upon the actors themselves.

But by the time the appreciation has dawned, memory has lapsed at many points; even written records have disappeared; and the means for the ideal combination of perfectly accurate history with perfectly just judgment in proper perspective are lacking. There results a record which is faulty at many points. Details are omitted. Some are supplied by inference. Documents are wrongly identified; so, while there is the general consciousness that the whole movement is tremendously significant, and in general the record is true —certainly true in spirit—emphasis cannot be placed upon details. It is a case in which the spirit lives though the letter does not. But the documents permit us to infer the general course of Hebrew and early Christian history, since the events were *such as* to evoke these subsequent interpretations. They give direct evidence as to the ideas and attitudes of the various writers and of their times.

It will be objected from many quarters that God would not allow His truth to be imperfectly presented.

If He has had the care for humanity and sufficient interest in them to give them a Book, a written record at all, surely He would not give them an imperfect or even incomplete guide; and the very purpose of the Bible is to be just such a perfect and complete guide.

In answer to such objection we can only reply that it is unsafe and presumptuous to argue as to what God must have done. We must concern ourselves simply with questions of fact. Is the record complete? Is it entirely self-consistent? In the light of our study we can only say that the documents we have are in fact fragmentary and conflicting at many points. And these features appear at critical junctures, as, for example, in the story of the Resurrection. The only safe way in which to interpret our documents is by the inductive study of the features they actually present, not by a deduction from some hypothesis as to what God must have put in them. For inductive study we need to understand the manner in which history leaves its traces. It is for this reason that we must master the theory of evidence itself before we can reconstruct a view of history on the basis of evidence. This has been the contention emphasized throughout this study.

In view of the textual difficulties and conflicting contents, literal inspiration loses its meaning. If it be objected that our inability to rely upon the letter of the documents destroys also our reliance upon their spirit, we must reply that unless the human spirit can discriminate among spiritual values and be responsive to the highest of them no literally accurate document could feed our spiritual life; and *with* that power, we can profit by even the imperfect documents we have.

There is brought to mind at this point the logical

independence of man's religious and scientific interests. A story may carry a permanently valuable moral lesson although it is not scientifically up to date. A parable does not need to be scientifically true. Even a fiction or a fairy tale may exemplify a good ethical principle, as on the other hand scientific knowledge may be used in the service of what is morally reprehensible (for example, chemistry to destroy human lives). So also there is much significant meaning underlying and pervading beliefs that people once held, but which they have now outgrown. We must learn to catch the spirit of things rather than their letter. The spirit often survives when the particular form in which it was embodied has passed. It is this which makes it possible still to derive important moral and spiritual lessons from many of the earliest stories of the Old Testament, although they are not regarded as scientifically accurate. The lesson of the second chapter of Genesis, that a man's wife should be his true companion, is still valid, even though the present-day interpretation of the origin of sex differs from the story as there given. Furthermore, it is in many lives a much-needed lesson.

Correlative to the above is the additional truth that there is no territory of experience which is forbidden to either science or religion. Every phase of experience, even religion itself, is legitimate material for scientific investigation. And there is no fact of science which will not be of interest to religion in so far as it contributes something to our sense of the ultimate meaning of life.

In estimating the value of the Bible as a spiritual guide we must bear in mind that not all portions are of equal value, because in fact there is great divergence

in the religious and moral ideas expressed. Even the literalists have found it necessary to slur over or neglect those portions which they do not find edifying.

Its spiritual value lies, first of all, in that it records the evolving religious and moral ideals of the Hebrews and early Christians, from which in turn our own ideals have evolved and in which the latter may still find support and sustenance. It has spiritual value in proportion as its ideals actually prove still usable, and capable of elevating and spiritualizing our life.

As Professor Lake, of Harvard, recently said, the Bible does not advocate the theory of evolution, but it illustrates it.[1] It records the growing religious sense of a people whose genius in this direction was the finest in history. But it does not give us once for all a "set of blue prints" for the guidance of life. It records the hopes and faith of a section of mankind, a hope most vigorous where prospects are darkest, a faith that has enabled men to fight the fight of life, to endure to the end and to conquer all difficulties.

But this hope and faith were no cut and dried things. They were, first of all, an inner impulse not appreciated equally by all members of the very race which gave them birth, and not equally vigorous in all centuries. Hope was a fluctuating thing, though an ultimately conquering one. It was a growing Messianic ideal which may take hold of all of us, as it did of Jesus, and make of all of us "sons of God and joint heirs with Christ." Through it the things that He did we also may do, and greater. Nor may we expect to find the complete expression of the meaning of Christianity at any point

[1] "Teaching the Bible," K. Lake, Harvard Alumni Bulletin, March 23, 1922.

in the past. Rather, it is still in the distant future. For there are many things which He has to tell us, but we cannot receive them now. Nor shall we be able to receive them without the refining fires of further experience. It is a true saying that comes to us from the old Greek philosopher, Xenophanes: The gods did not reveal all things at first. By striving, men learn better.

Is the Bible inspired then? Is it more than a human production? Let us answer, as A. J. Balfour has suggested[1]: God is the source of all that is ideal in man, of insight, of appreciation, of power. We may regard the Bible as inspired. The sustaining hope of increasing love of man for God and for his fellow-man is inspired if anything is inspired. The great question is not whether the Bible is inspired so much as whether it is the only thing inspired, and whether no other nation except the Hebrew has been granted any degree of inspiration whatever. Must we not fairly say that inspiration does not show with equal greatness in every verse? Esther is not so truly inspired as is Isaiah 40-66; nor II Peter so much as the Gospel according to John. But less inspired or even uninspired material often supplements in a useful way what is inspired. We freely allow our ministers to supplement Scripture with quotation of story and poem. And often we are more edified by the non-canonical poem than by the Scripture passage. Perhaps this means that what is commonly called uninspired has some degree of inspiration after all.

It was a problem to the Hebrew scholars of the last centuries B. C. when they came into contact with Greek thought, as also to the early church apologists,

[1] *Theism and Humanism,* Doran, 1915.

as to how Plato, Aristotle and other "heathen" philosophers had acquired so much profound truth. It was surmised that they must somewhere have obtained acquaintance with the Old Testament. But when evidence proved more and more clearly to be against this theory, they came to the conclusion that there were two ways to truth. What the Hebrew prophet had acquired by flashes of intuition the Greek philosopher attained by careful reflection. Thus the philosopher was the Greek prophet. There was then in various nations a common sense of truth. There was a light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world. This light, according to Christian doctrine, reached its highest development in the Christ. He is the goal of all seekers after God.

This indeed is a wholesome solution of the problem. It does not make exclusive claim to insight for one nation alone. Neither does it ignore different levels of attainment. The Christian believes that he has been given the greatest degree of enlightenment. Time (and eternity) will tell whether he makes good his boast; but it is in this spirit that present-day, enlightened missionary work is carried on, not with the sense of an exclusive possession of the whole truth of religion.

Shall we at some time outgrow the Bible? In one sense, No. The human spirit can never outgrow its own history. Whatever comes hereafter, whatever form we give to our belief, it is *along this road* that we shall have reached those forms. So long as man has a historic sense and a historic interest he will still look back to these records as the account of his spiritual ancestry. And man will have a historic interest so long as he has a memory, an imagination, and an inquiring curiosity;

i. e., so long as the fundamentals of human life are what they are.

But in another sense we have already outgrown the viewpoint of much of the Bible. Who of us can use the story of Judah and Tamar in Genesis 38? Who of us reads the details of the design of the tabernacle with any degree of sympathetic appreciation? Who of us makes use of the ceremony of healing leprosy in Leviticus 13? Even Paul himself outgrew his first expectation of the early occurrence of the Advent. We do outgrow and have outgrown the details of the letter. Only the spirit is immortal.

Shall we ever alter the Canon? Shall we at some time call another Council of Nicaea and agree to omit certain books from the Old or New Testament? Shall we summon another Council of Trent and include books which are not now included?

With regard to exclusion it is well to remember that even those parts which are no longer useful for teaching, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, are still useful as footprints in the sands of time showing the course over which the human spirit has made its way to such heights as it has attained. Even these "vestigial organs" are treasures which we would not willingly risk losing.

As to additions, we must bear in mind the motive of the formulation of a canon. The literature was becoming too vast. There was imperative need of selection. If the mass was not to become unwieldy there must be a line drawn somewhere. And such a line might best be drawn between the original apostles and the later witnesses. It would not be practicable now to let down the bars again and take other works in. It would be

practically impossible at this day to alter the list either by curtailment or extension, since it has become so fixed and classic. (True, there are many ardent defenders of the present list who could not repeat its names, but they know they are there, fixed and undisturbed, if only some day they have time and inclination to memorize them!)

What we need is neither increase nor decrease of the number of books, but increase of information about them and ability to intelligently interpret and appreciate them; less of random hypothesis and uninformed interpretation from standpoints which were not only unknown, but inconceivable to the original authors. Let us still keep the classic list which history has established for us. But let us not regard it as too sacred to be thought about, analyzed, and understood. Nor let us limit our vision to it. Let our field be the world, with all the aspiring spirits of mankind. Let us place our sacred literature against the background of the sacred literatures of all times and all places. If it is what we have claimed it to be it will stand the test and be all the more significant to us. If it is not what we have claimed, and cannot stand the test, let us know the worst now.

In some degree the Roman Church may be commended for its stand. It has from the first supplemented the material of first rank with other material which was useful although not equally authoritative. We see from the character of the latest books of the Canon how dim is the line between the canonical and the apocryphal. This itself opens the way to a gradual extension of interest to all that will prove illuminating, though not all can be included in a sacred list. The well informed student of the Bible will acquaint himself with

the background of thought in the periods when the books of the Bible were taking form, and in those regions of the world where they had their origin. He cannot have too much light upon the conditions under which they came into being. Certainly the day is past for thinking that one can understand the Bible merely from reading the English translation of it without reference to supplementary historical and literary study. Of course there is no doubt that much good can come as it has long come, from this practice. But where one is concerned with interpreting the meaning as originally intended, such isolated study will not suffice.

It may well be that the most significant lesson to be learned from our study is the fragmentariness of the records. And the significance of this fragmentariness lies in that it calls attention away from the written record. It may well be that the incoherence of the Bible will prevent religion from becoming a thing of a book, and make it rather a life process as it originally was. The fact that we have lost acquaintance in detail with what happened in the distant past will prevent our religion from being one of the distant past. This is doubtless the truth at which the didactic method has always been aiming in its emphasis upon general principles underlying the narratives. But the trouble with that method as actually applied has been that it still appealed to a historic basis, and to a mistaken conception and interpretation of history. In this *mistaken* interpretation lay the real difficulty, which made the traditional view unconvincing to many minds, and which has made it impossible for many to remain in

the faith of their fathers, at least in just the form in which the fathers held it.

The historical method, among other things, breaks down the water-tight compartments by which many persons separate religion from history, science, and common sense; and thus it re-integrates life. It does not deny the miraculous. It does not rule out the unusual. It does not circumscribe limits to the power of God. But what it does maintain is that the burden of proof rests with him who asserts the unusual. It does declare that the evidences for some long-held traditions are unconvincing. It maintains that the evidence as clearly discoverable in the documents, if we but have eyes to see it, is directly opposed to some long cherished beliefs.

Some of us were reared in an older form of faith. When we came face to face with many of its problems, we were too often put off with the explanation that such things are past finding out—they are too wonderful for us—an explanation given in the same breath with much dogmatic exegesis which could not make itself convincing. But having been introduced to the historical method of study, we rejoice in one fundamental fact: that while it has become impossible to retain an acceptance of the older forms of doctrine, we have attained a level of interpretation on which religious experience is a thing of life, not of a book. We no longer feel a line of demarcation between the humanity of the present and humanity of the days of Amos and Isaiah. Times have changed in some respects, it is true, and new problems have come in detail, but the same elemental problems and struggles are occurring now as then and occurred then as now.

The problems with which the books dealt were immediate problems as well as questions of eternal principles. The eternal principles were incarnate in special issues. To grasp this truth and to study in the light of it gives a concreteness which no other form of study can give. The oft-repeated comment of those who have awakened to the significance of the historical method is that it gives a new appreciation of the human touch to be felt throughout the Bible.

This does not destroy its divine character, but erases the line between the divine and the human. It heightens our sense of the Book as a record of the struggle of man up a difficult incline of spiritual appreciation. The Bible is a record, if we can but learn to read it aright, of the growth of the moral and religious sense. There are two factors involved in it: the ideal of eternal truth for which man is seeking, and the human capacity for appreciation which colors it. It is both human and divine, a record of the "beyond that is within," of that "light that lighteth every man coming into the world," "the power that worketh in us," and is "able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think."

Our study should lead us to turn our attention anew to the analysis of the inner life, to the consideration of the facts of religious experience as a perennial feature of life, which gave meaning to the experiences of men of the past, but gives equally to the present and the future.

One authority there is more ultimate than the Bible itself. That authority is life. We must interpret the Bible in accord with real experience instead of interpreting experience, even religious experience, in terms

of some preconceived theory of the Bible. To Paul when he was living, working and writing, Christian doctrine was a life lived out, not primarily a historical theory concerning the past. Similarly, to man at the present day, if Christianity is to mean anything it must be a way of salvation, a spirit in which present-day life may be lived, in such a manner as to save the individual and society from their faults, their sins. Unless there can be a consciousness of contact with God now, all the mystic experience of the great men of the past can profit us little. Religion must be a present experience. Even the death and resurrection of Jesus, if mere historic occurrences of a time long ago, and not expressions of a power which can take hold of life at any age, are futile antiquities.

APPENDIX

I

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF SCRIPTURAL DOCUMENTS

Old Testament

Approximate date		
9 and 8 C., B. C.	Primitive Stories of Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, I, II Samuel, I, II Kings	Numbers,
750–740	Amos's Prophecies	Period
740	Hosea	of
737–690	Isaiah 1-39	Divided
710–700	Micah	Kingdom
640	Deuteronomy 12-25	
626–621	Zephaniah	
626–597	Jeremiah	
607	Nahum	
605	Habakkuk	
592–570	Ezekiel	Period
586	Lamentations	of
550	Deuteronomic re-edition of history and law	Exile
560–540	Leviticus	
520	Haggai	Period
520–518	Zechariah 1-8	of
500–450	Isaiah 40-66	Restoration
450	Obadiah	
450	Ruth	
450–445	Malachi	
440–430	Nehemiah 1-6	
450–400	Priestly re-edition of existing literature	
375	Joel	
350–330	Job	

300–250	I, II Chronicles	Greek
300–250	Ezra	Period
300–250	Final edition of Nehemiah	
300	Jonah	
245–225	Daniel 1-6	
225–200	Final edition of Proverbs	
200	Ecclesiastes	
200	Song of Songs	
200–120	Esther	
165	Daniel 7-12	
160	Zachariah 9-12	
140	Final edition of Psalms	Period
140	Messianic re-edition of the Prophets	

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF SCRIPTURAL DOCUMENTS

New Testament

Approximate date		
50 A. D.	I, II Thessalonians	
53–54	II Corinthians 6:14-7:1	Nero
53–54	I Corinthians	Emperor
54	II Corinthians 10:1-13:10	54
54	Fragments in I Timothy and Titus	
54	II Corinthians 1:1-6;13; 7:2-9:15	
55	Galatians	
55	Romans	to
58–59	Ephesians	
	Colossians	
	Philemon	
60	Philippians	
60	II Timothy 1, 3.	68
75–80	Gospel according to Mark	70 Jerusalem
75–80	I Peter	destroyed
80	Hebrews	
85	Gospel according to Matthew	
85–90	James	

95	Gospel according to Luke
95	Acts
95	Revelation
95–100	I, II, III John
100	Final form of I, II Timothy, Titus
100	Gospel according to John
100–120	Jude
100–150	II Peter

II

GENERAL REFERENCE LITERATURE FOR FURTHER STUDY

A good discussion of the issue between the traditional and the present critical views of the Bible may be found in Sir Robert Anderson's "The Bible and Modern Criticism" (Hodder and Stoughton, 1905).

For English readers the best statements of the methods of historical research are to be found in the works of Langlois and Seignobos, "Introduction to the Study of History" (Holt, 1898), Vincent's "Historical Research" (Holt, 1911), and Fling's "The Writing of History" (Yale University, 1920). The first of these is a translation of a French work which has for years been one of the chief authorities on the subject. It includes some controversial material as well as other topics which are not of general interest. But it has become something of a classic in the field. The second is a statement of the same methods from the standpoint of American scholarship. Fling's little book brings the essentials within small compass. It is perhaps the most useful as a beginning book for the general reader. None of these lays any emphasis upon the application of the methods to Biblical study. They are concerned with the historian's work in general. But this has the advantage of showing that there is nothing of the nature of special pleading, nothing exceptional, in the methods applied in the present study.

J. P. Smyth's "The Bible in the Making" (Pott, 1914) describes the process by which the Bible came to assume its present form.

For the correlation of Biblical with secular records the most useful summary for the general reader is Barton's "Archæology and the Bible" (American Sunday School Union, 1920). Part I contains a review of the results of archæological investigation in Bible lands, indicating the light these throw upon Biblical history. Part II contains translations of ancient documents bearing upon the Bible. Both Old and New Testament fields are covered. Peters's "Bible and Spade" (Scribner, 1922) is another work similar in aim to Barton's. The Appendices in the volumes of Kent's "Student's Old Testament" (Scribner, 1907, ff.) offer materials similar to those of Part II of Barton.

On the manuscripts and ancient versions of the Scriptures Price's "Ancestry of the English Bible" (Sunday School Times, 1915) gives a good, readable discussion as well as an account of the various English versions which antedate the American Revision. The works of F. G. Kenyon, Director of the British Museum, "Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts" (Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1895) and "The Textual Criticism of the New Testament" (Macmillan, 1912), are the most authoritative.

On Internal evidences of date, authorship and structure of the Old Testament Driver's "Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament" (Scribner, 1910) is perhaps the best. Kent's "Student's Old Testament" gives the evidence in introductory essays, paragraph headings, and footnotes, accompanying his own translation and analyzed printing of the text. MacFadyen's

"Introduction to the Old Testament" (Armstrong, 1909) and Moore's "The literature of the Old Testament" (Holt, 1913), give the results of analysis of the books one by one, but do not discuss the general principles of the methods by which the results are reached.

The historical development of the New Testament canon is stated in an interesting way for the general reader in G. H. Ferris's "The Formation of the New Testament" (Griffith and Rowland, 1907). The manuscripts, their character, condition, age, and other questions of related interest are discussed in the works of Price and Kenyon mentioned above. The critical analysis of the New Testament literature is presented in Moffatt's "Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament" (Scribner, 1914), a volume of the same series as Driver's. The same field is covered in smaller compass yet in masterly and authoritative way by B. W. Bacon's "Introduction to the New Testament" (Macmillan, 1907). Bennett and Adeney's little book "The Bible and Criticism" (Dodge, 1913) gives results in the critical field in very small compass.

The history of Old Testament times is given in Dr. Sanders' volumes in the present series: "Old Testament History" and "Old Testament Prophecy"; also at greater length in Smith's "Old Testament History" (Scribner, 1915). For the development of New Testament thought the general reader may make use of Goodspeed's "The Story of the New Testament" (University of Chicago, 1918) and Bacon's "The Making of the New Testament" (Holt, 1912).

The value of the Bible as a whole and its place in religion is discussed in Matthew Arnold's "Literature and Dogma," a work that has become a classic. Glad-

den's "How Much Is Left" (Houghton, Mifflin, 1899) is also of value in this connection. Kent's "Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament" (Scribner, 1906), gives an appreciative estimate of part of the field.

In addition to these works the standard encyclopedias and dictionaries are invaluable aids to the student. Among these are to be mentioned: the Encyclopedia Biblica, Hastings's Dictionary of the Bible (larger and smaller editions), the Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, and the Encyclopedia Britannica.

III

REFERENCE LITERATURE FOR EACH STUDY

CHAPTER I, THE PROBLEM

The Fundamentals, a series of small volumes published by the Testimony Publishing Co., Chicago, setting forth the conservative position.

ANDERSON, SIR ROBERT, *The Bible and Modern Criticism,* Hodder and Stoughton, 1905. (Conservative.)

BADÉ, W. F., *The Old Testament in the Light of Today,* Houghton Mifflin, 1915; especially the Introduction and Chapter I. (Progressive.)

CHAPTER II, THE METHOD

For more detailed statements of the methods of historical investigation, read:

FLING, F. M., *The Writing of History; an Introduction to Historical Method.* 1920. Yale University Press.

VINCENT, J. M., *Historical Research; an Outline of Theory and Practice.* 1911. Holt.

LANGLOIS AND SEIGNOBOS, *Introduction to the Study of History;* translated by G. G. Berry. 1898. Holt.

CHAPTER III, WITNESS OF EXTERNAL HISTORY

KENT, C. F., *Beginnings of Hebrew History,* Appendix. 1905. Scribner.

BARTON, G. A., *Archœology and the Bible.* 1920. American Sunday School Union; Philadelphia.

PETERS, J. P., *Bible and Spade.* 1922. Scribner.

CHAPTER IV, OLD TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS

PRICE, I. M., *The Ancestry of the English Bible,* Sunday School Times Co., 1915.

KENYON, F. G., *Our Bible and the Ancient Manuscripts,* London, 1898.

JEWISH ENCYCLOPEDIA, Article "Bible Manuscripts."

CHAPTER V, PHILOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

DRIVER, S. R., *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament,* Scribner, 1910.

MCFADYEN, J. E., *Introduction to the Old Testament,* Hodder and Stoughton, 1909.

MOORE, G. F., *The Literature of the Old Testament,* Holt, 1913.

CHAPTER VI, CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

BENNETT AND ADENEY, *The Bible and Criticism,* Dodge, 1913.

MOORE, G. F., *The Literature of the Old Testament,* Holt, 1913.

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CHAPTER VII, WITNESS OF EXTERNAL HISTORY

FERRIS, G. H., *The Formation of the New Testament,* Griffith and Rowland Press, 1907.

BACON, B. W., *An Introduction to the New Testament,* Macmillan, 1907.

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CHAPTER VIII, NEW TESTAMENT MANUSCRIPTS

PRICE, I. M., *The Ancestry of Our English Bible,* Sunday School Times Co., 1915.

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KENYON, F. G., *Textual Criticism of the New Testament,* Macmillan, 1912.

CHAPTER IX, CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

BACON, B. W., *An Introduction to the New Testament,* Macmillan, 1907.

MOFFATT, JAS., *Introduction to the Literature of the New Testament,* Scribner, 1911.

HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible Articles "Matthew" "Mark" "Luke," etc. Scribner.

CHAPTER X, AUTHORSHIP AND DATE

BACON, B. W., *An Introduction to the New Testament,* Macmillan, 1907.

MOFFATT, JAS., *Introduction to the Literature of the New*

Testament, Scribner, 1911.
HASTINGS, Dictionary of the Bible, Articles, "Matthew," "Mark," etc. Scribner.

CHAPTER XI, BIBLICAL HISTORY

SMITH, H. P., *Old Testament History,* Scribner, 1915.
GOODSPEED, *The Story of the New Testament,* University of Chicago Press, 1918.
SMYTH, J. P., *The Bible in the Making,* Pott, 1914.

CHAPTER XII, THE BIBLE IN RELIGIOUS EXPERIENCE

ARNOLD, MATTHEW, *Literature and Dogma.*
GLADDEN, *How Much Is Left?* especially Chapter IV; Houghton Mifflin, 1899.
KENT, C. F., *The Origin and Permanent Value of the Old Testament,* Scribner, 1907.

IV

QUESTIONS FOR REVIEW

1. What situation occasions the problem of a satisfactory method of studying the Bible?
2. What are the chief arguments of the conservative position?
3. What are the chief arguments of the progressive position?
4. What results may be hoped for from the employment of a satisfactory method of study?
5. What are the general features of the historical method of study?
6. What other method is contrasted with the historical, and what is its significance?
7. What is meant by External Evidence?
8. What is meant by Internal Evidence?
9. How extensive are the records which serve as external evidence as to the character of the Bible?
10. What are the chief references to the Old Testament in non-canonical Jewish literature?
11. Name some of the Genesis stories which have parallels in other ancient oriental literature.
12. What events in Old Testament History are referred to in secular documents?
13. How many important ancient Hebrew manuscripts are there of the Old Testament, and what are their approximate dates of composition?

14. What explanation may be given for the disappearance of very old Hebrew manuscripts, and why do the extant manuscripts vary little from each other?
15. What are some of the principal causes of variations in the readings of the Hebrew manuscripts?
16. What are the most important ancient translations of the Hebrew text into other languages? Of what importance are these to the translator of the Hebrew text?
17. What are the important differences between the canons of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin versions of the Old Testament?
18. Of what importance to the Bible student are references in the text to historical events? Give some important examples.
19. Of what importance are the discoveries of words from non-Hebrew languages, spelled in Hebrew letters? In what book does this occur in an important way?
20. What is the evidence that many of the books of the Old Testament were not written in entirety by one author?
21. Who formulated the accepted theory regarding the structure of the books?
22. What reinterpretation of authorship does this bring about in some cases? Give examples.
23. What evidence is there of quotation in the Old Testament from ancient books which have perished?
24. What evidence is there that the New Testament only gradually became established in its present form?

25. Who are some of the important writers in the early church who give the earliest accounts of the composition and authorship of the books of the New Testament?
26. What references are there from outside Christian literature to the early Christians?
27. How numerous are the manuscripts of the New Testament?
28. What different writing materials and styles of writing are found in the New Testament manuscripts? Of what importance are these?
29. What are the names of the oldest New Testament manuscripts?
30. Tell something about each of these.
31. What are the chief translations of the New Testament into ancient languages other than Greek?
32. What variations are there in the lists and the order of arrangement of the New Testament books in different manuscripts?
33. To what extent do variants occur in the reading of the New Testament manuscripts?
34. Tell something about the structure of the Gospel of Matthew.
35. Tell something about the structure of the Book of Acts.
36. Tell something about the structure of II Corinthians.
37. Tell something about the structure of I Timothy.
38. Were the Epistles always written by the sender's own hand? What evidence is there on this point?
39. What indications of date of composition are to be found in the Gospels?

40. Which of Paul's letters give fairly clear evidence of having been written shortly before his death? Cite the passages.
41. Discuss the internal evidence of authorship and date of I Peter. Of II Peter.
42. Discuss the internal evidence of authorship of the works ascribed to John.
43. Into what periods would you divide the course of Hebrew thought in the light of historical study?
44. State which books belong in the several periods.
45. Outline the course of the development of Christianity as indicated by historical study.
46. Fit the New Testament books into their historical setting as well as you can.
47. What are some of the main conclusions regarding the place of the Bible in religious experience suggested by this study?
48. What is the most important of these conclusions?
49. Does the Bible need supplementing by other books? Discuss in some detail.
50. Should the list of canonical books be increased or decreased? Why?

V

SUBJECTS FOR RESEARCH AND CLASS DISCUSSION

Chapter I

1. The History of Biblical interpretation. 2. Fundamental sectarian beliefs. 3. Reason and Revelation. 4. Knowledge and Faith. 5. Fundamentalism.

Chapter II

1. The history of the writing of history. 2. Principles of historical investigation in more detail. 3. "Higher" criticism. 4. "Lower" criticism. 5. Scientific method.

Chapter III

1. The development of the Hebrew canon. 2. New Testament references to the Old. 3. Babylonian parallels to Genesis. 4. Secular accounts of Hebrew history. 5. Talmudic traditions regarding the Old Testament.

Chapter IV

1. Hebrew manuscripts. 2. Hebrew writing materials and methods of copying. 3. Ancient translations of the Old Testament. 4. The Samaritan Bible. 5. The Apocrypha.

Chapter V

1. The date of the writing of Genesis. 2. The date of the writing of I, II Kings. 3. The date of Isaiah. 4. The date of Ezekiel. 5. The date of Daniel.

Chapter VI

1. Parallel stories in Genesis. 2. The unity of the Book of Genesis. 3. The revision of legal principles in the Old Testament. 4. Lost books of Hebrew poetry. 5. A study of the structure of some important book of prophecy.

Chapter VII

1. Sub-apostolic literature. 2. The genesis of the New Testament canon. 3. Biographies of the disciples of the Apostles. 4. Tatian's Diatessaron. 5. The historicity of Jesus.

Chapter VIII

1. New Testament manuscripts. 2. New Testament writing materials and handwriting. 3. The collation of New Testament manuscripts. 4. Palimpsests. 5. Important variants in New Testament readings.

Chapter IX

1. The synoptic problem. 2. The Johannine literature. 3. Paul's literary biography. 4. The Book of Hebrews. 5. The Book of James.

Chapter X

1. Authorship and dates of the Gospels. 2. Authorship and date of the Gospel according to John. 3. Authorship and date of Acts. 4. Author and date of

I, II Timothy. 5. Author and date of II Peter and Jude.

Chapter XI

1. The general movement of Hebrew history. 2. The interval between the Old and New Testaments. 3. The historical background of the New Testament. 4. The genesis of the Christian Church. 5. The life of Paul.

Chapter XII

1. The nature of Inspiration. 2. Religion and Science. 3. Evolution and the Bible. 4. The contact of Hebrew religion with ancient philosophies. 5. The permanent value of the Bible.

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